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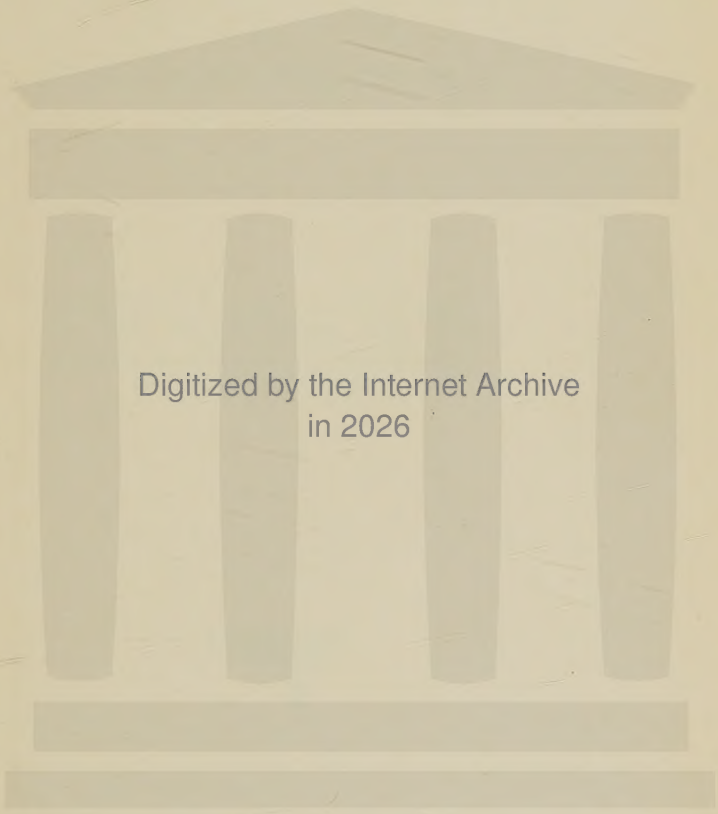
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EARLY METHODIST PHILANTHROPY

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PREFACE

"The Muse of History," remarks Henry Esmond, in introducing his own life story, "hath encumbered herself with ceremony as well as her Sister of the Theatre. She too wears the mask and cothurnus and speaks to measure. She too, in our age, busies herself only with the affairs of kings; waiting on them obsequiously and stately, as if she were but a mistress of Court ceremonies, and had nothing to do with registering the affairs of the common people." This was, indeed, a just reproach upon the conduct of Clio in the reign of good Queen Anne, but now-a-days she has pulled off her periwig and become "familiar rather than heroick," as Esmond desired, and readily admits that Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Fielding do give us a much better idea of the manners of eighteenth century England than the *Court Gazette* and the court newspapers.

While the present study of early Methodist philanthropy cannot claim the artistry of a Mr. Hogarth or a Mr. Fielding and, indeed, in the studiously scientific mood of modern history would repudiate any intimation of it, it does endeavor to contribute its small share to the "familiar" history of the days of Anne and the Georges. The homely but far-reaching beneficence of the early Methodists, which it seeks to describe, is a part of the great river of common human life, whose sources even yet are but dimly perceived and upon whose banks the historical student stands watching the movement of leaves and chips upon its surface and gazing upstream in the effort to comprehend the direction and power of the many currents that surge past his feet toward the broader, deeper reaches of the future. To two of these currents early Methodist philanthropy is vitally related. It may be considered as a section of the history of English philanthropy in the eighteenth century, a story which is yet to be written with the care and acumen which the political and the industrial

history of the period have enjoyed. Indeed, the relation of that benevolent age to the rapidly growing scientific charity of the present merits much more attention from students of social forces in general and of the history of philanthropy in particular than it has yet received. On the other hand, early Methodist philanthropy may be regarded as one of the most important features of the Wesleyan Revival. Although there are numerous histories of the religious movement and several stimulating discussions of its general social influence have appeared, the detailed and painstaking study of the social history of the Revival in all its aspects has not yet been undertaken. I had originally hoped that the present volume might include a larger portion of such a survey, but the many other alluring topics that it offers must be left to another time. Should the pages which follow, however, serve with some slight measure of success to outline one of these topics and to incite other students to enter the field, they will more than repay the pleasant labor which they have cost.

In the preparation of this dissertation I have been particularly indebted for encouragement and criticism to Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, to Professor Thomas C. Hall and Professor William Walker Rockwell of Union Theological Seminary, and to Professor J. Alfred Faulkner of Drew Theological Seminary. The readiness of the Library of Union Theological Seminary to secure by purchase or by loan many of the indispensable books and the courtesies of its staff are gratefully acknowledged.

The abbreviations *"Works,"* *"Journal,"* and "Diary" in the footnotes refer to Mr. Wesley's writings unless otherwise indicated. A bibliography containing the full titles of sources and authorities consulted is appended.

ERIC MCCOY NORTH.

Union Theological Seminary, May 4, 1914.

CHAPTER I

Methodist Philanthropy Before the Revival

I. THE HOLY CLUB

The origin within Methodism of its philanthropic activity may definitely be fixed in the character and work of the Holy Club at Oxford. This famous society had its beginning, as have many of the literary societies in our present-day colleges, in the desire of a few students to profit by one another's company in their favorite studies. When the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Fellow of Lincoln College, returned to Oxford from a country curacy in November, 1729, to assume the duties of his fellowship he joined his brother Charles, a tutor of Christ Church, and William Morgan, a young Irish student at the same college, in the custom of spending three or four evenings a week together. "Our design," wrote Mr. Wesley, "was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity."[1] Even before Mr. Wesley's arrival, however, characteristic marks of what came to be known as "Oxford Methodism" had been shown by his brother Charles. The latter had formed the custom of attending the sacrament of Holy Communion weekly at Christ Church and had induced two or three of his friends to join him. They also "agreed together to observe with strict formality the method of study and practice laid down in the Statutes of the University."[2]

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[1]Introductory Letter to *Journal*, I, 90.

[2]*New Hist. Meth.*, I, 139. It is possible that the custom of meeting together for reading the classics originated with Kirkham before Wesley came. Cf. *Journal*, I, 90 note; Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 3. Gambold, who joined the Holy Club later, says that Morgan started the religious practices which made the Club prominent. Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 157. The contemporary evidence seems to point to Charles Wesley, however. See Whitehead, *Life of Wesley*, 72 (Charles Wesley's letter to Dr. Chandler),

In the Oxford of 1729, religious earnestness and methodical habits of life and study were the two factors most calculated to set the school agog. Scholarly ideals among the mass of students were at the lowest ebb. Partly as a reaction against the bitter and bloody religious strife of the previous century, partly from other causes, intellectual England in general and the appointed leaders of the church in particular had a horror of anything in religious practice that savored of "enthusiasm." In Oxford even the required attendance at Holy Communion three times during the year received grudging attention from the students. As John Richard Green has described it, in Oxford "religion has dwindled down to a roll-call, and education may be found anywhere save in the lecture-room."[1] The keenness of the ridicule that arose as the habits of the little group became known and as its membership and its customs grew in the year or two immediately following only served to make the contrast more sharp. College officers argued and reproved their charges and fathers and guardians wrote anxious and discouraging letters. "Enthusiasts," "Bible Moths," "Sacramentarians," "Supererogation-men," "the Godly Company," "the Reforming Club" were some of the sarcastic titles given to them as well as the now more familiar terms, "Holy Club," and "Methodists." But their earnestness was not to be shaken, and under persecution the membership grew slowly. Mr. Wesley's ready sympathy with the aspirations of the group and his age and position made him at once its leader and controlling spirit. From time to time new members were added to the Club from various Oxford Colleges, some to remain until it disintegrated, others for only the brief time until graduation removed them from Oxford, or dissatisfaction and persecution caused them to fall away. There were probably never more than thirty in the informal Club at any one time and usually not as many. Most of them

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74 (his letter to John); Jackson, *Life of Charles Wesley*, I, 15; Moore, *Wesley*, I, 130.

[1]J. R. Green and G. Roberson, *Studies in Oxford History*, 30, and *passim*.

were under twenty years of age and all save John Wesley were under twenty-three at the time of the latter's return to Oxford.[1]

In addition to the increase in numbers and notoriety, the ideals of "Our Company," as Wesley termed it, also grew. At an early date, the philanthropic work,—to be considered at length later,—became a mark of the Holy Club, and much of their time was spent in visiting the prisoners and the sick and poor of the town. The sacramentarian character of their piety was also steadily maintained and troubled searchings for the way of salvation were the experience of nearly every member of whom we have record. The seriousness of purpose which lay behind this found expression also in their avoidance of companionship which they deemed unprofitable, in an endeavor to persuade others to their way of thinking, and in a general strictness of deportment in all the details of college life. This was further accented by their acceptance of John Clayton's suggestion that they should observe the fasts of the church. Some carried this and similar asperities to extremes dangerous to health, though measures so severe were not the counsel of the Wesleys.[2]

Outside of the college the Methodists had a few encouraging friends. One of the first of these was Samuel Wesley (1662-1735), the rector of Epworth and father of the two leaders. Another was "A. B.," the anonymous author of the first published defense of the Methodists (1733), written in reply to the virulent attacks of *Fogg's Weekly Journal,* a leading literary periodical.[3] A third friend was Sir John Philipps, one of the earliest members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowl-

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[1] See Appendix I. Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 62.

[2] Whitefield, *Short Account,* Section 2, *passim.*

[3] *The Oxford Methodists, Being an Account of Some Young Gentlemen in that City, in Derision so-called.* First edition, 1733. Second, 1737. Cf. R. Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications,* 1, note. It is suggested that the author of the defense was the well-known mystic, William Law, whom Wesley knew and for whom he had great respect. See *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1848, 754 note, 874 note. The letter from *Fogg's Journal* is reprinted in the same magazine, 1845, 237.

edge and in general a public benefactor.[1] It was through his generosity that Whitefield was enabled to stay in Oxford after his ordination and to carry on the work of the Holy Club during the absence of the Wesleys in Georgia.[2] But in the main the strength of the Holy Club lay within itself and the vitality of the group seems to have centered in John Wesley. Clayton refers to him as "our best advocate and patron," and Mr. Wesley's father claims to be the grandfather of the Club, since his son John is styled its "Father."[3] This is also evidenced by the decline in the membership when he was away. During his brief absence in the spring of 1733, the attendance at the Sacrament at St. Mary's Church fell off from twenty-seven to five.[4] At just what time the Club was at the height of its activity would be hard to say. Perhaps the publication of the Oxford Diaries might give us new clues! It seems evident, however, that after the departure of the Wesleys for Georgia in 1735 the little society gained few, if any, recruits, though its charitable work under Whitefield's administration seems to have prospered for a time. By 1739, at least, the Oxford Methodists as a group of kindred spirits seem quite to have subsided.[5] The members scattered their several ways, three to leadership in the great Revival, with which only a few found themselves in sympathy, two to positions of prominence in the English Moravian Societies, others to parish life of one kind or another in the Established Church, the rest to historical oblivion. Whatever fragments of their interests and work remained were soon gathered up into the religious societies in the town and became identified with the Revival itself.

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[1] Macleane, *History of Pembroke College, Oxford,* 301, 358 note. Sir John was a Jacobite and Mr. Wesley's Jacobite Sermon may have attracted his attention. Green and Roberson, *op. cit.,* 168.

[2] Whitefield, *Short Account.*

[3] Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 26. *Journal,* I, 95 note.

[4] Tyerman, *op. cit.,* 31.

[5] Apparently Mr. Wesley met them in November and December, 1738, but the college generation had changed and few of those whom he knew were in regular residence there. Diary, Nov. 22, 29, Dec. 10, 1738.

The philanthropic activity of the Holy Club had its origin with William Morgan,[1] one of the "charter-members" of the group. "In the summer" (of 1730), writes Mr. Wesley, "Mr. Morgan told me he had called at the gaol to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife; and that, from the talk he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good, if anyone would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated, that, on the 24th of August, 1730, my brother and I walked with him to the Castle.[2] We were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to go thither once or twice a week; which we had not done long, before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town, who was sick. In this employment, too, when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in a week; provided the minister of the parish, in which any such person was, were not against it."[3]

In such fashion did Methodist philanthropy begin and the significance of the beginning lies not so much in what the little group accomplished in Oxford nor in any principle discovered as in the enrichment of the experience and the widening of the outlook of the future leader of the Revival.[4]

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[1]For other particulars concerning Morgan, cf. Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 4 ff.

[2]The "Castle" is a well-known group of buildings which included the court house and prison for the Shire. The other prison which was visited was called "Bocardo." Of it the *Gentleman's Magazine* (XLI, 1771, p. 376) records the following: "The workmen began taking down the North Gate of the City of Oxford, commonly called Bocardo, and used as a prison. This prison is rendered memorable by the *Bishop's hole,* as it is termed, a most horrible dungeon, wherein Archbishop Cranmer with the Bishops Latimer and Ridley were confined previous to being burnt before Balliol College."

Cf. also Green and Roberson, *Studies in Oxford History,* 312-313; Anthony Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford,* (ed. A. Clark) I, 255-257.

[3]Introductory Letter, *Journal,* I, 90.

[4]One of a score of reasons which Mr. Wesley gave to his father for not applying to succeed him at Epworth was the great good that might be done for the needy in Oxford. "Here is room for charity in all its forms; there is scarce any possible way of doing good for which here is not daily occasion." *Journal,* II, 163; Moore, *Wesley,* I, 185.

If we may judge from Mr. Wesley's letter to the father of William Morgan, the letter introductory to the published Journals, he was very careful to be well advised in his procedure. He wrote several times to his own father, who replied with hearty encouragement and recollected that as an undergraduate he too had visited the Castle prisoners. At his father's suggestion Mr. Wesley also secured the approval of Mr. Gerard, the Bishop of Oxford's chaplain and the official visitor of condemned prisoners, to which, on Mr. Gerard's report, the Bishop added his sanction. Mr. Hoole, rector at Haxey and one of his father's friends, also lent cautious approbation when Mr. Wesley wrote to him.

In addition to seeking the advice of outsiders the group worked out in their defense a set of questions which they proposed to friend and foe alike in order to secure their opinion.[1] In these questions the primary emphasis is laid upon philanthropic action. They thus differ considerably from Mr. Wesley's own "rules" of conduct, prefixed to the first Oxford Diary (1725-1727),[2] which deal entirely with introspective criticism without regarding helpfulness to others as an important means of grace. They also differ from the "Scheme of Self-Examination" used by the adherents of the Holy Club, in which conduct toward neighbors occupies a prominent place, but which does not indicate the same philanthropic interest.[3] To be sure, the purpose and origin of these schedules of self-criticism were not the same as those of the set of questions, yet there is no doubt that they record a new and deeper interest in his fellow-men on Mr. Wesley's part. The questions make clear the conviction of the Christian duty of charity and the feeling that to a degree, at least, salvation depended on such action. They also show the desire of the members of the Holy Club to aid their fellow-stu-

[1]The text of this important document is given in Appendix II.

[2]*Journal,* I, 48. These were "abstracted" from Jeremy Taylor's "Rules of Holy Living."

[3]*Works,* VI, 579 ff. Moore, *Wesley,* I, 138-140. R. Green, *John Wesley, Evangelist.*

dents, the needy, and the prisoners in body, mind, and spirit. Clothing, food, and medicine were the usual forms of assistance, but the members were ready to help to release prisoners held for small debts by themselves discharging their obligations and to provide them with means of practicing their trade after they left prison. If possible, the Methodists wished to assist in educating the children of the poor families whom they knew, either by becoming their teachers or by providing some other method of schooling. Upon all men, in whatever walk of life, they sought to urge "the necessity of being Christians" and of frequent attendance at Holy Communion.

In spite of gibes and threats the practices of the inner circle of the Holy Club did not fall far short of their profession. The visiting of the Castle and of Bocardo which Morgan had begun was carried on steadily. Here part of the time was spent in religious work, in examining the attitude of the prisoners to their prosecutors, their jailers, and their fellow-men, in encouraging them to make a new start in life. They also gave several instruction in reading. When Mr. Wesley was on a trip to London, Morgan wrote, asking him to secure some cheap spelling-books, "for they are wanted much at the Castle."[1] In August, 1732, Clayton wrote to Mr. Wesley with delight that two of the felons had been discharged, "both of them able to read mighty well." He added, "There are only two in the jail who want this accomplishment," and they were under instruction from him and one of their fellow-prisoners. Debtors were at a peculiar disadvantage in the eighteenth century because their imprisonment prevented them from securing the aid which they needed in order to obtain release. In matters of this sort the Methodists were especially helpful. Morgan writes to Mr. Wesley to secure a legal decision in London for one of the prisoners and to inter-

[1]Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 5 ff. This letter surely indicates too advanced a state of the work for February, 1730 (as Tyerman has it), to be consistent with Mr. Wesley's description of the beginning (August, 1730) in the Introductory Letter, *Journal,* I, 90. The difference between Old Style and New Style dates would explain the error, giving February, 1731, as correct. This also does not conflict with the evidence at any point.

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view the rich friend of another in his behalf.[1] Clayton also reports securing a copy of an indictment for a prisoner's mother, and expects to supply twenty shillings to aid another to subpœna witnesses for his trial.[2] Other small debtors they released by paying their debts from a fund which they raised.[3] One of the prisoners, who was helped by the Methodists, was a Mr. Fox, a resident of Oxford. His house was evidently a center of the religious work of the Holy Club as early as 1735 and continued so for several years, becoming, through its connection with Mr. Wesley, the meeting-place of one of the Revival societies. Fox seems to have gotten into financial difficulties, and in 1738 and 1739 Wesley and Kinchin are trying to come to an agreement as to the best method of starting him off anew. The business suggested is "fowls, pigs, and cheeses!"[4]

The resources necessary for the work among the prisoners were raised by subscriptions payable quarterly. The first list was started in September, 1739, and yielded £1 7s. 6d., which was all spent by the end of the year and the administrator was left 11s. short![5] To this fund not only the Methodists but many of their acquaintances contributed. The complete record of it remains in unpublished accounts, but we know that in June, 1731, when Mr. Wesley found that the membership had fallen off so greatly the "little fund" was rather increasing than diminishing.[6] In December, 1734, Mr. Wesley had the hope that the fund would "amount to near £80."[7] By 1736, when Wesley was in Georgia,

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[1]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 5.

[2]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 28.

[3]For detailed descriptions of the work, see Appendix III.

[4]For references to Fox, see *Journal,* I, 443 note, 444 note, 448 note; II, 87 note, 113 note; Diary, Oct. 11, 1738 ff., Nov. 22 to Dec. 11, 1738, and *passim;* Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 131 (Letter of Richard Morgan, Nov. 27, 1735); the Moravian *Messenger,* 1877, p. 50; Charles Wesley, *Journal, passim.*

[5]See facsimile in *Journal,* I, 91. Cf. III, 75 note.

[6]*Works,* VI, 588; Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 9.

[7]Moore, *Wesley,* I, 186.

the subscriptions for the prisoners amounted to £40, which Whitefield administered.[1] Whether Mr. Wesley's own charity was chiefly expended through this fund is not certain, but the self-denial and liberality which marked all his later years began at Oxford.

The exact extent of the Holy Club work with prisoners cannot be determined from the scant sources at present published. We know the names of at least sixteen prisoners in Oxford and many more are indicated. Even when the members were sojourning away from the University visiting was done. In Gloucester Whitefield found a point of contact with the prison in a re-captured felon who had escaped from Oxford, and he was soon begging money for the release of small debtors and securing provisions and books for others.[2] Broughton, too, while curate at the Tower of London, voluntarily added to his labors a weekly visit to the prisoners in Ludgate.[3] The prison-visiting of the Wesleys and Whitefield during the beginning of the Revival in London and Bristol was an outgrowth of the same interest.[4] During the absences of the leaders the visiting at Oxford was carried on by other members of the group. Through Sir John Philipps's provision Whitefield stayed in Oxford while the Wesleys were in Georgia, and superintended both the prison work and the charity schools. Hervey relieved him, while he was temporarily filling Broughton's place at the Tower.[5] When Whitefield departed for Georgia in 1737, Kinchin, who had become Dean of Corpus Christi College, "willingly took upon him the charge of the prisoners."[6] Just how the work finally languished is uncertain. In December, 1738, John Wesley, in

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[1] Whitefield, *Further Account*, 67, 70. Note that Whitefield first met the Wesleys through an effort to aid an unfortunate woman in a workhouse. *Short Account*, 36.

[2] Whitefield, *Short Account*, Sec. 3.

[3] Tyerman, *Wesley*, I, 132.

[4] See p. 53.

[5] Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, 56.

[6] Whitefield, *Further Account*, 72.

company with his brother Charles, started afresh the reading of prayers at Bocardo, "which had been long discontinued," and visited it and the Castle frequently until he returned to London.[1] During a sojourn at Oxford in the following March, he also went to the Castle three or four times, but most of his work was with the religious societies in the town.[2] But by October the work seems entirely to have ceased. Wesley wrote:

"I had a little leisure to take a view of the shattered condition of things here. The poor prisoners, both in the Castle and in the city prison, had now none that cared for their souls; none to instruct, advise, comfort, and build them up in the knowledge and love of the Lord Jesus. None was left to visit the workhouses, where also we used to meet with the most moving objects of compassion. Our little school, where about twenty poor children at a time had been taught for many years, was on the point of being broke up, there being none now either to support or to attend it; and most of those in the town, who were once knit together, and strengthened one another's hands in God, were torn asunder and scattered abroad. 'It is time for Thee, Lord, to lay to Thy hand.' "[3]

One of the earliest interests of the founders of the Holy Club was in the education of poor children. During the first years Morgan was the leader in this phase of the work. Both in Oxford and in the villages which he visited he often gathered the children about him and taught them the catechism and prayers, distributing a shilling among them when he departed.[4] His teaching at Oxford later developed into a school with a mistress paid by the society. Gambold, writing after he left Oxford, said, "The school was, I think, of Mr. Wesley's own setting up. At all events, he paid the mistress, and clothed some, if not all, of

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[1] *Journal,* Dec. 3, 1738; Diary, Nov. 22 ff. and Dec. 1738, *passim.* Charles Wesley, *Journal,* Nov. 25, 29, Dec. 7, 1738.

[2] Diary, March 4, 6, 14, 1739.

[3] *Journal,* Oct. 3, 1739.

[4] Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 9, 10. A clergyman advised Morgan's father that he had "known the worst of consequences follow from such blind zeal."

the children. When they [the members of the Holy Club] went thither, they inquired how each child behaved; saw their work (for some could knit and spin); heard them read; heard them their prayers and catechism; and explained part of it."[1] By 1736 two or three such schools had been started. Whitefield, who was supervising them in Mr. Wesley's absence, speaks of them as "charity schools," and it is quite possible that they had become related to the widespread charity school movement fostered by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Whitefield became a corresponding member of this Society in 1735 or 1736.[2] Of what became of these schools after this time there is no record save Wesley's comment on "the shattered condition of things," in October, 1739.

As in the case of the prisoners, the Methodists did not confine their interest to Oxford alone. Ingham, whose home was in Osset, wrote Wesley in 1734 that after breakfast "forty-two poor children come to me to read," and "at eleven I go to teach the rug-makers' children to read."[3] The work of John Wesley and Delamotte in Georgia may also rightly be regarded as an extension of the work of the Holy Club in Oxford.[4]

In addition to the work with prisoners and with children instruction and help of various kinds were given to poor families in the town. Clayton reported at one time contributing to keep a gown that was in pawn from being sold, and at another time

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[1]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 159. Cf. Clayton's letter, August 1, 1732; Tyerman, 26 f. *Journal,* Oct. 3, 1739.

[2]Whitefield, *Further Account,* 67, 70. But cf. Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.,* 126-127, which says that the names of John and Charles Wesley, of Whitefield, and of Fletcher do not appear on the lists. Moore, *Wesley,* I, 160, says that John Wesley joined "the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge" on August 3, 1732. Perhaps Moore means the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, though no verification of this is available. The father of the Wesleys was a member of the S. P. C. K. until his death in 1735. Allen and McClure, *loc. cit.,* and 87. There were in Oxfordshire at this time twenty-three charity schools with 472 pupils. *An Account . . . . . of the S. P. C. K.,* 1735.

[3]Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 58.

[4]See p. 16.

to clothe a poor woman whom the overseer of the workhouse had agreed to take in on condition that her need was supplied. Clayton also mentions starting the visiting of the local workhouses, remarking of St. Thomas's Workhouse, "There is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don't understand one word of what they read."[1] This also became a part of the regular charitable activity of the Holy Club. Wesley endeavored to revive it after his return from Georgia, but his stay in Oxford was too short.[2]

The significance of the philanthropy of the Holy Club, apart from its relation to the experience of John Wesley, is small in the face of the more general and far-reaching activities of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and similar organizations, both national and local, which developed permanent and effective institutions. To be sure, the persecution of the Methodists brought to them a certain notoriety, but there is no record of its leading any others to follow their example. On the other hand, that a few college students in their twenties should start and maintain for a decade, with some lapses, the regular visitation of two prisons and the support of a school for poor children was a rather extraordinary thing. It was the more extraordinary in the rollicking, hard-drinking, epigrammatic Oxford of the Georges, ready to applaud to the skies what it approved and to ruin with satire and mocking whatever seemed "singular" or pious.

It was more than a desire to be generally helpful that kept these young collegians to their work in the face of maltreatment and bitter invective. It was a religious conviction that that which they proposed to do was a part of the fundamental relationship of a man to his world, and that no outward experience could gainsay it. They sought salvation. However hard the road, they would push on until they had attained that goal. The road they trod was that of salvation by "works." Two centuries

[1]Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 28, 29.

[2]*Journal,* Dec. 5 (Gloucester Green Workhouse), 7 (St. Thomas's Workhouse), 1738.

before the Protestant Reformation had thundered out across the years that salvation was by faith. But in England theological issues had played small part in the detachment of the Church from Rome and theological adjustments had followed but slowly on political and ecclesiastical changes. The assurance of salvation, which the Oxford Methodists longed for, they sought by means of the traditional "works," the rigid testing of daily, even hourly, conduct, the austerities of ascetic practice, the frequent and careful attendance upon the means of grace, and the "duties" of philanthropy. As is true under even the most rigorous and mechanical theory of works, their humane motives usually outran their theory of salvation, though the latter, in turn, reenforced their philanthropic spirit and stimulated their endeavor. In spite of the emphasis on the duty of charity and on the happiness resulting for the charitable, which appears in their defensive statement of principles, the appeal of the suffering, the ignorant, and the bewildered was the effective cause. It may seem, indeed, in some lights as if their philanthropy was but one among the means of their pursuit of holiness. Yet how near the center it really was appears in Mr. Wesley's suggestion of the value of Holy Communion in confirming and encouraging them in their work,—"Two points . . . . we endeavored to hold fast: I mean, the doing what good we can; and, in order thereto, communicating as often as we have opportunity."[1]

It is quite improbable that they ever worked out any rules for the practice of their philanthropy. Schools for training charity workers were long years ahead and "social economy" was not a subject on the University course-books. But good sense was their guide and they were not so very far from the principles of modern charity. Even "family rehabilitation" was a part of their work, and giving for giving's sake alone was never dominant. Of course, such underlying causes of poverty as the ineffective economic organization of society did not enter upon their horizon. But they were as near the ultimate problem as

[1]Introductory Letter, *Journal*, 101. Cf. the fourth paragraph of section II of the set of questions, Appendix II.

any social workers since, and nearer than many, for in the last analysis all such problems run back to the fundamental relation of the individual to his world and the convictions that determine his conduct. "Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, 'fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison'; and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death?" To be sure, the salvation they sought to offer had a stronger other-worldly flavor than is palatable in modern days. But once an individual is convinced of the "necessity of being a Christian," society and the individual himself receive in the immediate situation the benefit of new motives of a higher order, and it is in the gradually rising tide of higher motives that the permanence of moral and social progress is assured.

Of all this experience Mr. Wesley was the center. Its historical significance lies in the fact that it was *his* experience. His own habits of charity were formed in this group. His own contact with the lower classes was first made vivid here. From preaching and visiting among them he learned how to escape from the academic vocabulary which more or less fastens itself upon those devoted to scholarly pursuits, and to speak simply and clearly.[1] Had this not been the case, the extent and effectiveness of his future work would seem impossible. It was in Oxford that John Wesley first began to see the world as "the scene of redemption" from poverty, disease, and sin.

II. JOHN WESLEY IN GEORGIA

In 1735, John Wesley sailed for Georgia as an agent and missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an organization largely interested in developing religious work in the Colonies. The motives which influenced him to accept the opportunity were the same as those which

[1] Whitefield bears hearty testimony to the same experience after his first sermon. Whitefield, *Works*, I, 18. Cf. also T. Jackson, *Life of Charles Wesley*, I, 27.

governed the conduct of the Holy Club. "My chief motive," he wrote, "is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the Heathen. . . . A right faith will, I trust, by the mercy of God, open the way for a right practice; especially when most of those temptations are removed which here so easily beset me. . . . I then hope to know what it is to love my neighbor as myself, and to feel the powers of that second motive to visit the Heathens, even the desire to impart to them what I have received,—a saving knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. . . . Neither can I hope to attain the same degree of holiness here which I may there."[1]

These motives were shared by the Oxford Methodists who accompanied him, Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham, and Charles Delamotte. At once they began to regulate their life on shipboard with the same devout earnestness and the same austerity which characterized their conduct at Oxford. Mr. Wesley himself was largely occupied with the care of his shipboard parish,—holding services, mending quarrels, catechizing children, reading devotional books to various groups of passengers, and spending much time in private study and prayer. The philanthropic part of the Holy Club's activity was naturally somewhat circumscribed on shipboard, but it was not altogether discontinued. As long as the ship was in quiet waters (some four weeks) Ingham regularly taught and catechized the children and aided some of the Moravian passengers in learning English.[2] The Methodists also made a point of visiting the sick daily and providing them with gruel and other necessities.[3]

In Georgia itself Mr. Wesley's ambition to work among the Indians was doomed to failure. Most of his time was occupied as it had been on board the *Simmonds;* a part was

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[1]Letter, Oct. 10, 1735. *Works,* VI, 609. Cf. Ingham's "Journal," in Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 64.

[2]Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 69, 73.

[3]Whitefield was similarly occupied during his voyage to Georgia (1737-1738). His friend Habersham taught the children. Whitefield, *Journal,* Jan. 2, 14; Feb. 4, 6; March 15, 1738; *et al.*

spent in Frederica and a part in Savannah. His conduct of his parish was quite stiff and severe, and his final return to England was due to the ill-feeling which his extreme High Churchism provoked. Charles was Secretary to the Governor and Ingham was engaged in the same manner as John Wesley himself. The educational work of the group seems to have fallen on the shoulders of Delamotte, who within a month after landing began to teach "a few little orphans" in Savannah. Eight months later the number had increased to forty.[1] Whether these were in one school or more is not clear, since Mr. Wesley several years later spoke of two schools.[2] This educational work Mr. Wesley reported to the "Associates of the late Dr. Bray:"[3]

"Our general method is this: A young gentleman, who came with me, teaches between thirty and forty children to read, write, and cast accounts. Before school in the morning and after school in the afternoon he catechizes the lowest class, and endeavors to fix something of what was said in their understandings as well as their memories. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday, in the afternoon, I catechize them all. The same I do on Sunday, before the evening service. And in the church, immediately after the Second Lesson, a select number of them having repeated the Catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavor to explain at large, and to enforce that part, both on them and the congregation."[4]

Wesley also reported the educational work to the Georgia

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[1]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 79. Diary, Nov. 21, 1736; May 9, 11, 29, 30; June 5, July 3, 15, 1737. *Journal*, February 26, 1739; *Gentlemen's Magazine*, VII, 575 (Sept. 1737).

[2]See *Methodist Magazine*, 1808, p. 490.

[3]The Associates of Dr. Bray, otherwise known as "The Founders of Parochial Libraries," was an organization closely connected in its operation with the S. P. G. and in its history with both this and the S. P. C. K. See McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History;* Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, p. 16; and *Classified Digest of the Records of the S. P. G., 1701-1892*, 26 ff. Also *Journal*, I, 321 note; 322 note; 353 note; Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, II, 90.

[4]*Journal*, Feb. 26, 1737.

Trustees, who recognized Delamotte's voluntary service as a teacher, though they did not pay him a salary for it. Delamotte remained in Georgia for six months after Mr. Wesley left (December, 1737). This was long enough to enable him to turn over the work to Whitefield, who from that time on became the leader and sponsor of the Methodist philanthropy in Georgia.[1] It thus has less connection with the development of the Methodist movement in England and the history of it belongs to another chapter. It should be noted, however, that from the great audiences which Whitefield drew on his visits to England came a large part of the financial support of the Orphan House.[2]

Except for the foot-hold given to Whitefield's work in Georgia, the trip of the Wesleys and their companions had only an indirect significance in the development of Methodist philanthropy. No work of a new character was accomplished.[3] No change in the theory is to be noted. Mr. Wesley himself became interested in the Moravians on the voyage out, and this interest led to his visit to Germany later; he also gained important experience with the formation and conduct of small religious societies or bands which were to become so important a feature in the Revival.[4] In London, however, the Georgia experience had temporary philanthropic reflection among the Religious Societies. James Hutton's reading of Charles Wesley's letters and of John Wesley's diary of the voyage in a group of his friends led to the starting of a religious society similar to those already in existence.[5] With this group Hutton formed a Poor-

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[1]John Wesley, *Journal,* I, 413 note; Whitefield, *Journal,* May 7, 8, 19, June 10, 11, 1738.

[2]See p. 89.

[3]Mr. Wesley seems to have had a plan for employing the poor in a small garden, and ground was cleared for this purpose, but the evidence is obscure and little is known of the character of the project and nothing of its success. *Journal,* May 3, 1737; Diary, May 6, 9, 1737.

[4]An excellent summary of John Wesley's gains and losses in the Georgia experience is given in *Journal,* I, 424-426. The amount of study which he accomplished is astonishing.

[5]Cf. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana,* 199; chap. VIII, *passim.*

Box Society, whose members met every Wednesday, each subscribing a penny a week toward a charitable fund for all descriptions of people. The number of subscribers was between two and three hundred, including many from other societies than that of Hutton. Hutton later joined the Moravians and thus severed his connection with the Wesleys.

III. FAITH AND WORKS: MR. WESLEY'S CONVERSION

Mr. Wesley's hope of saving his own soul and of learning "the true sense of the Gospel" by preaching to the Indians failed of fulfillment in Georgia. "I went to America to convert the Indians, but oh, who shall convert me?"[1] If self-denial for the sake of charity, if thorough obedience to the law of God, inward and outward, if the willing endurance of hardship and persecution for the sake of the Gospel, were the means by which salvation was merited, John Wesley was a saved man. But he found in himself a haunting fear of death, an absence of "assurance of acceptance with God." Nor did he discover that mental prayer and devotional exercises had aided him. "These were, in truth, as much my own works as visiting the sick or clothing the naked; and the union with God thus pursued was as really my own righteousness as any I had before pursued under another name."[2] Under the guidance of Peter Böhler, the Moravian whom he met in London, Wesley began to understand more clearly the nature of that "true, living faith" which he knew to be the "one thing needful" for him. It was not until Böhler had demonstrated to him that both Scripture and experience testified "that a true, living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past and freedom from all present sins," that he was convinced that justification was by faith alone. But more than intellectual conviction was necessary, and after many troubled days the long sought sense of pardon and of peace was gained.

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Alders-

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[1] *Journal,* Jan. 24, Feb. 1, 1738; I, 423.

[2] *Journal,* May 24, 1738, (I, 469.)

gate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the *Epistle to the Romans*. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."[1]

Of the many consequences in theory and practice which resulted from this experience of Mr. Wesley, only one is of peculiar significance for Methodist philanthropy. If salvation is by faith, what becomes of good works? Do they thereby forfeit a structural place in the theory of Christian life and become an incident? Mr. Wesley was too steady-minded and too well-grounded in Christian philanthropy, to run to an extreme opposite to that from which he had come. His conversion was followed by a period of adjustment in which the position both of faith and of works became clarified. "I believe," he writes, "neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. . . . . I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor, consequently, a condition of it; but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and, therefore, incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone, faith without works, faith though producing all, yet including no good work."[2] This position was subject to vigorous attack upon two sides. On the one hand, many churchmen, observing in the Revival the abhorred "enthusiasm" and judging it by its sensational features, saw peril for religion in the removal of the sacraments from their central place in the scheme of salvation and for morality in anticipated antinomianism. On the other hand, Moravian influences tended to produce the very thing the churchmen feared and

[1] *Journal*, May 24, 1738; I, 475.

[2] *Journal*, Sept. 13, 1739.

to minimize the importance of charitable works and of the sacraments, and for a time these influences came near shipwrecking the early societies. But Mr. Wesley steered carefully between Scylla and Charybdis. With Paul he answered the question, "Do we then make void the law through faith?" by a hearty "God forbid!" and vigorously pressed the claims of "works" as a necessary fruit of faith. The attacks of churchmen, which ranged from polite argument to bitter slander, Mr. Wesley answered by sermon and by pamphlet, holding stoutly to his position and affirming it to be that of the Established Church rightly understood. Oxford Methodism was too deeply ingrained in him and his affection for the Church too strong for him to lose sight of either charity or the sacraments in his new outlook. To the more subtle efforts of the Moravians his response was immediate and persistent. He patiently expounded to the societies the error of leaving off good works for the sake of an increase of faith, often using the Epistle of St. James, "the great antidote against this poison."[1] He also preached publicly on the subject and endeavored in every way to insure correct understanding of the doctrine and its full practice. The General Rules of the United Societies (1743) and the Directions Given to the Band Society (1744) emphasized the necessity of works. In the latter Mr. Wesley writes: "You are supposed to have the faith 'that overcometh the world.' To you, therefore, it is not grievous carefully to abstain from doing evil . . . . zealously to maintain good works . . . . constantly to attend on all the ordinances of God."[2] In these efforts Mr. Wesley was so successful that to some, at least, of his opponents the position of the societies was made clear. Among others the noted Josiah Tucker of Bristol, clergyman, economist, and publicist, had published in the interests of truth a gentle warning to Mr. Wesley and his associates and opposers. He later had an opportunity of hearing Mr. Wesley preach and apologized most handsomely.

[1] *Journal,* Nov. 1, 1739 ff., Dec. 13, 31, 1739, June 5, 29, 1740; Aug. 1, Sept. 3 (Section 14), 1741; III, 504. Cf. Sermons I, IV, XLIII, *et al.*

[2] *Works,* V, 193. Cf. Hall, *Social Meaning,* 58-59.

"I must confess, sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you pressed your hearers in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the Gospel, not to stop at *faith* ONLY, but to add to it *all virtues,* and to show forth their *faith* by every kind of *good works,* convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in people's mouths, that you preach *faith* without *works;* for that is the only ground of prejudice which any true Christian can have, and is the sense in which your adversaries would take your words when they censure them. . . . . I am ashamed that, after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith, I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may say false, manner I have done in the paper above mentioned! What mere darkness is man when truth hideth her face from him."[1]

Bishop Lavington, who was otherwise exceedingly indiscriminating in his attacks on the Methodists, observes in *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd* (London, 1749), "The *Moravians* have no regard for *outward Works,* Prayer, Sacrament, &c., but yet are zealous for some remainders of *Corruption* necessarily sticking to us. The Wesleyans contend strongly for *outward Works;* but at the same time are eagerly maintaining the possibility of an unsinning *Perfection.* A rare choice, take which you please."[2] The test, however, of the workings of the theory was not in the admissions of its opponents, but in the practical results in philanthropy and fellow-service, which will be treated in the chapters to come.

IV. JOHN WESLEY IN GERMANY

While in Georgia, Mr. Wesley had formed a resolution to visit Germany, should he ever return to England. He had been much impressed by the faith and piety of the Moravians whom he had met and his close connection with other Moravians at the time of his conversion increased this interest. He felt that

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[1] *Journal,* Nov. 1, 1739; II, 245 note, 249 note. The first controversy in which Mr. Wesley appeared in print was with Tucker.

[2] Part I, p. 47. This is perhaps the first time the term "Wesleyan" was used.

he needed contact with men who were more experienced in "the full power of faith," to strengthen and stimulate his own.[1] In June, 1738, he set out, traveling a part of the time with Ingham. It was on this trip to Germany that Mr. Wesley came more closely than ever before into contact with the stream of religious and philanthropic work that had started with Philipp Jakob Spener (1633-1705) and is best described by the term "German Pietism."[2] On the philanthropic side this had had a notable development in the educational and charitable institutions founded at Halle by August Hermann Francke (1633-1727). Count Zinzendorf, the leader of the Moravians (Unitas Fratrum), had been trained at Halle and, though at this time in sympathy with the older Pietism, was carrying on his work independently at Marienborn and Herrnhut.

All three of these places Mr. Wesley visited. With Halle he was very much impressed. Already, on the voyage to Georgia, he had read Francke's own story[3] of the rise of the schools from their very tiny beginning and came with considerable expectations. The Journal records his impression:

"We were at length admitted into the Orphan House, that amazing proof that 'all things are' still 'possible to him that believeth.' There is now a large yearly revenue for its support, besides what is continually brought in by the printing office, the books sold there, and the apothecary's shop, which is furnished with all sorts of medicines. The building reaches backward from the front in two wings for, I believe, a hundred and fifty yards. The lodging-chambers for the children, their dining room, their chapel, and all the adjoining apartments are so conveniently contrived and so exactly clean as I have never seen any before. Six hundred and fifty children, we are informed, are wholly maintained there; and three thousand, if I mistake not, taught. Surely, such a thing

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[1] *Journal,* June 7, 1738.

[2] See Mirbt, "Pietismus," in Herzog, *Realencyclopädie.* 3te Aufl.

[3] *Pietas Hallensis.* Diary, Nov. 6, 1735. This well-known book was a stimulus to much philanthropic work, wherever it was read. Whitefield and Mary Bosanquet drew much of their inspiration from it.

neither we nor our fathers have known as this great thing which God has done here!"[1]

Wesley's account does not fully indicate the extent and complexity of the enterprise, but it shows how vividly he was impressed and it will not be surprising to see the results of it in his later work. Its reputation was already wide and no doubt it was the original, in some sense, at least, of Whitefield's Orphan House in Georgia as well as of some of Wesley's varied enterprises.

Count Zinzendorf's charitable work was not so remarkable as that at Halle, of which it was to a degree a descendant. Of his Orphan School at Marienborn Mr. Wesley makes no mention.[2] At Herrnhut he was mainly occupied in learning the religious experience of several of the leaders of the community, the purpose for which he had come. The Orphan House has thus a less prominent place in his attention than it had at Halle. Although he does not offer any comment, he includes in his Journal the rules of discipline of the Herrnhut Church and an extract of its Constitution, both of which provided regulations for the administration of the school and the Orphan House.[3] Parts of these regulations are reflected in Mr. Wesley's conduct of the Kingswood school. At one other German town which Mr. Wesley visited he seemed to have been impressed with the schools. This was Jena. Here the school work had begun, as at Oxford in the case of the Holy Club, with a college student who taught a few poor children. At the time of Wesley's visit there were about three hundred children in the school. The major part of the instruction was religious. The teachers were supplied from among the university students, a sufficient number being used to prevent overworking any one.[4]

The trip to Germany was primarily a trip for observation,

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[1] *Journal,* July 26, 1738.

[2] *Journal,* July 4, 1738, and note.

[3] See Appendix IV.

[4] *Journal,* August 21, 1738. See Appendix IV.

and its value for Methodist philanthropy lay in just that fact. By means of it Mr. Wesley came into contact with some of the most noted charitable institutions in Europe, and the methods of education of the young and of providing for the poor, the sick, and the needy which he saw then must have been in his mind as he planned the charitable projects of the Methodists. Indeed, it is not only the Orphan House and the school that are reflected in these later plans, but even the printing office and the apothecary shop! That Mr. Wesley made no comment on the Moravian institutions is due perhaps to his feeling that their charity was chiefly for the benefit of their own sect. He expressed this feeling with considerable force a few years later, and the constant liberal practice of the Methodists makes his point the more sharp. He wrote of the Moravians:

"I do not admire their confining their beneficence to the narrow bounds of their own society. This seems the more liable to exception, as they boast of possessing so immense riches. In his late book the Count particularly mentions how many hundred thousand florins a single member of their Church has lately expended, and how many hundred thousand crowns of yearly rent the nobility and gentry only of his society enjoy in one single country. Meantime, do they, all put together, expend one hundred thousand, or one hundred, in feeding the hungry, or clothing the naked, of any society but their own?"[1]

[1] *Journal,* Nov. 28, 1750; III, 504.

CHAPTER II

Charity in the Methodist Organization

The Methodist organization which developed under Mr. Wesley's hand may be divided into two parts, according to its different functions. The lay preaching, the itinerancy, the circuit were for the promotion of the Revival in ever wider and wider territory, seeking to bring more and more men and women under its influence. The societies, the Bands, the Class-meetings were to hold the ground already gained, to strengthen the weak, to enlighten the perplexed, and to aid all who once began to strive toward the prize of their high calling. All the work was integrated, the societies supporting the preachers in their work, both intensive and extensive, the preachers spreading the Revival and supervising the more intensive cultivation carried on by the societies. None of these forms did Mr. Wesley invent. Some of the elements lay at hand. The Religious Societies had come down from the end of the seventeenth century and it was within their circle in London and Bristol that Mr. Wesley was occupied immediately after his return from Germany. Indeed, the Holy Club was in a sense such a Religious Society. The first Methodist societies in London and in Bristol drew their membership largely from them. The parish at Savannah, too, was not without its share in developing Mr. Wesley's experience of ways and means for training and supervising those under him. The use of the Bands for a more close search for Christian perfection Mr. Wesley had already seen among the Moravians in Herrnhut, and the beginning of the Moravians in England was intertwined with that of the Revival. Other features of the organization arose out of the immediate situation. Such was the Class-meeting which, as Wesley quickly saw, was the very thing he needed for keeping the members of the societies active and

up to standard. In similar fashion lay-preaching arose, though at first Mr. Wesley was far from ready to adopt it.[1]

With some of the inherited elements of the organization philanthropy had always been more or less connected. The earliest Religious Societies had had the custom of a weekly subscription of 6d. a member to a fund which, after deducting the expenses of an annual dinner, was distributed to the poor. Whether this feature was characteristic of all of them is uncertain. Hutton's experience with the Poor-Box Society may indicate that some welcomed the opportunity which it afforded. On the other hand, many of the Religious Societies had connections with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and contributed to the support of charity schools. For this support Whitefield commends them in 1737, but in 1739 he finds their activity greatly decreased.[2] The well-known charitable work of the Moravians was also current, but at the beginning of the Revival their emphasis seems to have been away from philanthropic activity and later Mr. Wesley made the rather sharp criticism, that their charity was entirely for those of their own community. In spite, however, of these antecedents in charity and in spite of the general philanthropic interest of the time, it may fairly be said that the philanthropy of the Methodist organization is due to no one of these. It is to be traced directly to the experience of Mr. Wesley himself in the Holy Club and in the convictions concerning "good works" which preceded and followed his conversion. It was his influence that was the determining, if not always the originating, factor in the progress of the Methodist societies and the emphasis which he laid upon works was both the cause of the separation of the Methodists from the Moravians and a mark of differentiation between them throughout their history.

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[1]See the well written treatment of the organization in *New Hist. Meth.*, I, 277 ff. Cf. Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*, 197 ff.

[2]Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*, p. 11, 200, 257; Chap. V, *passim*, esp. p. 128; pp. 199-202. Whitefield, *Journal*, pp. 79-81; *Works*, V, 167 (Sermon on "The Benefits of an Early Piety," preached before the Religious Societies).

The charitable features of the organization are most easily seen in the statements of the principles and rules which were drawn up, usually by Mr. Wesley, for the adherence and guidance of the societies. The first set of rules was drawn up for the use of the Fetter Lane Society in May, 1738, before Wesley's conversion. They were prepared under the advice of the Moravian, Peter Böhler, and in them appears no trace of philanthropic interest nor of the importance of good works. This is due, in part, at least, to their purpose, which was evidently to provide a basis for agreement as to the membership and administration of the society. Moreover, were it certain that Mr. Wesley drafted them, his absorption at this time under Böhler's guidance in the problem of salvation by faith would account for their character.[1] The next set of rules which appears is that of the "Band Societies," framed in December, 1738. Though drawn up before even the first strictly Methodist Society, that at the Foundery, was started, they became authoritative for all the societies which developed under Mr. Wesley's leadership. In the first Conference (June, 1744) they were read and approved and some time thereafter were published.[2] Like the Fetter Lane Rules, no mention of works is made. They belong to the period of adjustment and also serve as rules for conducting a Band meeting. That some need was felt of supplementing these upon the particular point of the kind of behavior and "works" to be expected of members of a Band is shown by the issuance of the "Directions Given to the Band Societies" in 1744.[3] These were considered of importance and were frequently reprinted. They read as follows:

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[1] *Journal,* May 1, 1738, and notes 2 and 3. These were later expanded into thirty-three "Orders" and were used by the Moravian society in Fetter Lane. Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton,* 29-33.

[2] The date of publication seems to be uncertain, though probably in or after 1744, since they always appear with the "Directions to the Band Societies," which were not drawn up until that year. See Green, *Bibliography,* Nos. 57 and 43. Text in *Works,* V, 192. They appear appended to the "Rules of the United Societies," published in 1744.

[3] *Works,* V, 193. In the *Works* these are dated Dec. 25, 1744. The

"You are supposed to have the faith that 'overcometh the world.' To you, therefore, it is not grievous,—

"I. Carefully to abstain from doing evil; in particular,—

"1. Neither to buy nor sell anything at all on the Lord's day.

"2. To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician.

"3. To be at a word both in buying and selling.

"4. To pawn nothing, no, not to save life.

"5. Not to mention the fault of any behind his back, and to stop those short that do.

"6. To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, ruffles.

"7. To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

"II. Zealously to maintain good works; in particular,—

"1. To give alms of such things as you possess, and that to the uttermost of your power.

"2. To reprove all that sin in your sight, and that in love and meekness of wisdom.

"3. To be patterns of diligence and frugality, of self-denial, and taking up the cross daily.

"III. Constantly to attend on all the ordinances of God; in particular,—

"1. To be at church and Lord's table every week, and at every public meeting of the bands.

"2. To attend the ministry of the Word every morning, unless distance, business, or sickness prevent.

"3. To use private prayer every day; and family prayer, if you are at the head of a family.

"4. To read the Scriptures and meditate therein, at every vacant hour. And,—

"5. To observe as days of fasting, or abstinence, all Fridays in the year."

Such a program as this gave no room for equivocation. It

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minutes of the Conference of June, 1744, as published in 1812 refer to the "Directions" on p. 12, but this is evidently proleptic, as the "Bennet Minutes" (Wes. Hist. Soc., *Publications,* I) do not contain it. See preface to "Bennet Minutes" and Edition of 1812, p. 9 note.

sets a standard of a kind most beneficial to the classes with which Wesley was dealing as well as most searching into the motives of any who might desire to join with him. Its emphasis on charity is also explicit and urgent.

That any who wished might know the basis of membership in the societies, Mr. Wesley published in February, 1743, what might be called the "manifesto" of the Methodists. This is known as *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies, in London, Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, etc.* In it the philanthropic emphasis in its relation to the religious interest stands out strongly. After a brief account of the origin of the Societies, Mr. Wesley defines such a society as "no other than 'a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united . . . . . that they may help each other to work out their salvation.'" He continues:

"That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called *classes,* according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class; one of whom is styled *the leader.* It is his business (1) To see each person in his class once a week, at least, in order to inquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor. . . . .

"There is only one condition previously required in those who desire admission into these societies—a desire 'to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins'; but, wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is, therefore, expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire for salvation,—

"First, by doing no harm, avoiding evil in every kind; especially that which is most generally practiced . . . . [here follow definite specifications].

"Secondly, by doing good, by being, in every kind, merciful after their power; as they have opportunity doing good of every possible sort, and, as far as is possible, to all men; to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by

clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison; to their souls, by instructing, reproving, or exhorting all they have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, 'that we are not to do good unless our hearts be free to it': by doing good to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others, buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only: by all possible diligence and frugality, that the Gospel be not blamed. . . . .

"Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God. . . . . .

"These are the general rules of our societies; all of which we are taught of God to observe, even in His written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these, we know His Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known to them that watch over that soul as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways; we will bear with him for a season; but then, if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

John Wesley,
Charles Wesley."[1]

Such a document as this makes quite clear the position of fellow-service in the minds of the leaders of the movement. When in addition it is remembered that these provisions were enforced by the inspiring supervision of Mr. Wesley himself, whose example was as powerful as his word, the vital place of the practical philanthropy of the Methodists is evident.

If this was the recognition of philanthropy given in the official documents of Methodism, how was it carried out in the organization? The first step seems to have been taken in connection with an appeal made by Mr. Wesley to the United Society in London in behalf of their destitute brethren and sisters, in May, 1741, desiring "all whose hearts were as my heart . . . . .

[1] *Works*, V, 190-192. Charles Wesley's name appears in all editions except the first. Its price was one penny. Green, *Bibliography*, No. 43.

to give weekly a penny or what they could afford, for the relief of the poor and sick."[1] Of the methods by which this was collected the sources give no indication. Possibly it was by means of a subscription list, as in the Holy Club. The next step ahead seems to have been made in the following February at Bristol. The society was facing the problem of paying the debt incurred in building the Room in the Horsefair. A Captain Foy suggested that, if each gave a penny a week, it could be done and, when it was objected that many could not afford even that, agreed to join ten or twelve of the poorest, collecting what they could give and supplying the deficiency himself. Others took similar responsibilities and the society was divided among them.[2] The organization thus provided was found very effectual for supervising the spiritual welfare of the members of the society and was the origin of the "classes." From Bristol it spread to London[3] and thence became characteristic of the entire movement. The formation of the class-meeting was important for Methodist philanthropy because at an early date it was used to collect the weekly subscriptions for the poor. Just when this method was applied to the poor collection is uncertain. By 1743, at any rate, and perhaps earlier, the weekly contribution in London and in some of the other societies was applied entirely to the poor fund and the expenses of the societies were raised by quarterly subscriptions.[4] This practice of giving the weekly offering to the poor continued for more than forty years in the London Societies. It was then used for the support of the preachers.[5]

Even before the formation of the classes in Bristol, some

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[1] *Journal,* May 7, 1741, and note. Diary, May 12, 1741. See Appendix VII.

[2] *Journal,* Feb. 15, 1742. "Thoughts upon Methodism," *Works,* VII, 316, and *Works,* V, 179.

[3] *Journal,* March 25, 1742.

[4] Wesley refers to this in his *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion,* 1743. See Green, *Bibliography,* No. 47. Cf. also *Journal,* III, 265 note, 281 note. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* VIII, 181.

[5] Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 549. *Journal,* III, 300 note. *Methodist Recorder,* Christmas Number, 1895, p. 35.

financial organization had been undertaken. In the fall of 1739 Mr. Wesley was urged to purchase the ruined Foundery in Moorfields, London, and to remodel it as a meeting place for the growing society. This he did and, in order that he might not be burdened with keeping accounts of the subscriptions of the society, stewards were provided. They later became accountable for the weekly collection for the poor as well.[1] How soon after this the stewards were appointed in Bristol is not clear. They are first mentioned by Mr. Wesley in his Diary on February 28, 1741. This was two months before the weekly collection for the poor was started. The responsibility both for this collection and for the schools at Kingswood and Bristol was shared by these stewards and Mr. Wesley.[2] The practice thenceforward seems to have been for the leaders to collect the poor fund from the classes and then to turn it over to the stewards for disbursement, either directly or indirectly, to the needy.[3] The administration of the fund was kept in the hands of the stewards and through them of the "visitors of the sick" who were started on their mission shortly after.[4] Mr. Wesley's forethought and orderliness are shown in the directions given to the stewards. In addition to providing for the manner in which their meetings should be conducted and the attitude they should take to the preachers he laid down a few very practical rules.

"1. Be frugal. Save everything that can be saved honestly.

"2. Spend no more than you receive. Contract no debts.

"3. Have no long accounts. Pay everything within a week.

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[1]The statement concerning the stewardship given in The Large Minutes, *Works,* V, 220, and in *Minutes of Conferences,* (ed. 1812), I, 59, is in error in placing the formation of the London society in November, 1738. It should be 1739. See "General Rules" (published in 1743), *Works,* V, 190. "Earnest Appeal," *Works,* V, 29.

[2]*Journal,* May 23, 1741.

[3]Cf. "General Rules," *Works,* V, 190 f.; "Plain Account," (1748), *Works,* V, 185-186.

[4]See below, p. 37.

"4. Give none that ask relief either an ill word or an ill look. Do not hurt them if you cannot help.

"5. Expect no thanks from man."[1]

How large was the average weekly collection for the poor cannot be determined save in a few instances. In 1748, Mr. Wesley speaks of one as being "little short of eight pounds a week."[2] The collection-book of the West Street Society, London, however, gives us information for that society for the period from 1764 to 1796. In the first nine months of 1764 the distribution to the poor was £126 17s. 3d. For the twenty-three years between 1764 and 1787, during which the fund was entirely applied to the needs of the poor, more than £3,000 was given through the weekly collection. The amounts raised by special subscriptions were not included in this. It may not be amiss at this point to notice the liberality of this one London Society. In addition to the regular fund just mentioned, it made an annual collection for the charity school at the Foundery, amounting to £31 10s. 8d. in 1767 and averaging £15 a year, until it began its own charity school. It also made collections for the poor at the Foundery and contributed freely to its lending stock. Special contributions were also made for brethren who had met with misfortune and for the support of the missions in America. Not a little of Wesley's own charity was administered through the stewards of this society. Some interesting items are "1775, Feb. 18, To advertisement of charity sermons, 6s."; "1778, April 1, Received of Mr. [John] Wesley £5, to be distributed among the sick and the poor." Whether the liberality of this society was exceptional or not is hard to say. It probably was well above the average, due in part, no doubt, to its location in London and to the character of its membership.[3] Only the recovery and publication of the stewards' books of a large number of societies could make accurate comparison possible. An exceptional in-

[1] See Appendix V.

[2] "Plain Account," *loc. cit.*

[3] Telford, *Two West-End Chapels*, 71-75; *Methodist Recorder*, Christmas Number, 1895, p. 35.

stance of liberality on the part of one of the societies outside of the metropolitan district Mr. Wesley recorded in his Journal. This was in the little village of Tetney, Lincolnshire. Of it he wrote:

"I have not seen such another in England. In the class paper (which gives an account of the contribution for the poor) I observed one gave eight pence, often ten pence, a week; another thirteen, fifteen, or eighteen pence; another, sometimes one, sometimes two shillings. I asked Micah Elmoor, the leader (an Israelite, indeed, who now rests from his labour), 'How is this? Are you the richest society in all England?' He answered, 'I suppose not; but all of us who are single persons have agreed together to give both ourselves and *all we have* to God. And we do it gladly; whereby we are able, from time to time, to entertain all the strangers that come to Tetney, who often have no food to eat, nor any friend to give them a lodging.' "[1]

It is, of course, impossible to measure the extent of the relief actually accomplished by the poor funds of the United Societies. Even the most expert accountants could never sum up accurately the results of such philanthropy. Administered as it was in the most diverse kinds of ways and in most intimate fashion, with no record of the manner of its success and without the watchful eye of the "efficiency experts," little knowledge of its real effectiveness could be gained. No solution of the problem of poverty is to be looked for here. The method was that of relief, not of cure. But it must be remembered that, in the case of the marginal poor, those who just slip over the edge from a bare living into poverty, and in the case of the very poor, a very small expenditure means often very great relief. Indeed, temporary relief in many such cases means often permanent freedom from poverty, and there were multitudes of the London and Bristol poor needing just such help as this. Moreover, the almoners of the Methodists came to the poor not simply with relief for the immediate physical situation, but also with a message of hope and oppor-

[1] *Journal*, Feb. 24, 1747.

tunity that to many a man means such a finding of himself as will in the end produce economic independence. To join the ranks of Methodism meant, in one aspect of it, to turn vigorously and decidedly away from the drunkenness and careless living that were too greatly the bane of the poor in the eighteenth century. It is this kind of relief which Mr. Wesley has in mind when he replies to the bitter and utterly groundless accusation of "robbing the poor" in the various collections of the societies. He writes:

"You affirm, sixthly, that I 'rob and plunder the poor so as to leave them neither bread to eat nor raiment to put on.' A heavy charge, but without all color of truth. Yea, just the reverse is true. Abundance of those in Cork, Bandon, Limerick, Dublin, as well as in all parts of England, who, a few years ago, either through sloth or profuseness, had not bread to eat, nor raiment to put on, have now, by means of the preachers called Methodists, a sufficiency of both. Since, by hearing these, they have learned to fear God, they have learned also to work with their hands as well as to cut off every needless expense, to be good stewards of the mammon of unrighteousness."[1]

One of the powers which the Revival showed was just this genius for promoting a practical philanthropic spirit on the part of those touched by it. Nearly every revival of religion brings with it the stimulation of men's charitable instincts, but how few revivals have made the regular practice of philanthropy a part of their program! In the case of the Methodist Revival, not only the example of the leaders, but the provisions of its regulations and the fashioning of the resulting organization made its philanthropy a habit and gave its charitable aspirations concrete character.

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[1]A letter to the Rev. Mr. Baily, of Cork (Limerick, June 8, 1750), *Works,* V, 418. On the charge of robbing the poor, see also, *Works,* V, 189, 436-437.

CHAPTER III

The Revival and the Unfortunate

I. THE SICK AND INFIRM

The specific task of caring for the sick and incapacitated seems not to have been particularly prominent in the work of the Holy Club at Oxford, partly because they had become specifically interested in the prisoners and the children and partly because in a town such as Oxford sickness among the poor would not loom so large as in the slums of the larger cities. However, Mr. Wesley's interest in "anatomy and physic," which he called "the diversion of my leisure hours," reached back to this period.[1] His duties, too, as minister of a parish in the Georgia venture, made personal calling on the sick one of his natural functions, and his hope that he "might be of some service to those who had no regular physician among them" led to a serious study of anatomy and physic in the few months preceding his Georgia experience. Yet it was not until after the Revival began and he was brought into intimate contact with the poorest classes as never before that Mr. Wesley's interest became so deepened and quickened as to bring his organizing genius into play for practical relief. Among the Religious Societies in 1738 and 1739 such a need had not been apparent. But the results of the field preaching brought Mr. Wesley nearer to the needy. The Journal and Diary for the closing months of 1740 and the early months of 1741 are filled with references to such contacts. In Bristol he visited a collier ill with the small-pox and others suffering from spotted fever. In London in August, 1740, an epidemic was abroad and many in the societies were stricken. Some he found quite helpless with neither food nor medicine. In March again

[1] *Works*, V, 187.

at Bristol there were many cases of fever and he spent Wednesday and Thursday regularly, until his return to London, in visiting the sick. He went also to one or more of the London hospitals from time to time, hoping that some relief for the situation could be found there.[1] By April, 1741, eight or ten of the society volunteered to help Mr. Wesley in his rounds, and a regular method of visiting was started.[2] Two or three weeks later at the time of the first poor collection twelve persons were appointed to call upon all the sick in their district every other day and to provide whatever was necessary for the disabled.[3] Yet even these were not found to be enough. The stewards upon whom the burden of the work seems to have fallen were unable because of their daily employments to make as frequent calls as were desirable, and they were not always informed of the sick. Mr. Wesley then made provision for avoiding this difficulty:

"When I was apprized of this I laid the case at large before the whole society; showed how impossible it was for the stewards to attend all that were sick in all parts of the town; desired the leaders of classes would more carefully inquire, and more constantly inform them, who were sick; and asked, 'Who among you is willing, as well as able, to supply this lack of service?' The next morning many willingly offered themselves. I chose six-and-forty of them whom I judged to be of the most tender, loving spirit; divided the town into twenty-three parts, and desired two of them to visit the sick in each division."[4]

It was later (1748) that every week when the preacher met the leaders of the classes the latter were to "give notice by note of every sick person" and also to "send a note to the visitor weekly of every sick person."[5]

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[1] See Appendix VI.

[2] *Journal,* April 21, 1741.

[3] *Journal,* May 7, 1741. See Appendix VII. Mr. Wesley himself was taken ill with the fever on the next day. But in spite of being "much out of order," he was at his regular tasks two days later.

[4] "Plain Account," *Works,* V, 186.

[5] Minutes, 1748, Wes. Hist. Soc., *Publications,* I, 58.

For these visitors of the sick as for the other officers of the organization, Mr. Wesley drew up explicit rules and these are included in the official records of the societies:[1]

"Q. 9. What is the business of a Visitor of the sick? A. 1. To see every person in his district thrice a week. 2. To inquire into the state of their souls, and advise them, as occasion may require. 3. To inquire into their disorder, and procure advice for them. 4. To inquire if they are in want, and relieve them (if it may be, in kind). 5. To do anything for them which he can. 6. To bring his account weekly to the Stewards."[2]

"Q. 10. What are the Rules of a Visitor? A. 1. Be plain and open in dealing with souls. 2. Be mild, patient, tender. 3. Be cleanly in all you do for them. 4. Be not nice."

He also urged upon every one, rich and poor, old and young, the importance of this Christian duty, in a sermon "On Visiting the Sick." While he particularly emphasized in it the religious service which could be rendered to the sick and the religious value of such charity as a means of grace to the visitor, he did not by any means neglect the physical needs of the unfortunate.

"It may not be amiss, usually, to begin with inquiring into their outward condition. You may ask, Whether they have the necessaries of life? Whether they have sufficient food and raiment? If the weather be cold, Whether they have fuel? Whether they have needful attendance? Whether they have proper advice, with regard to their bodily disorder, especially if it be of a dangerous kind? In several of these respects you may be able to give them some assistance yourself; and you may move those that are more able than you to supply your lack of service. . . .

"Together with the more important lessons which you endeavor to teach all the poor whom you visit, it would be a deed of charity to teach them two things more, which they are generally little acquainted with: industry and cleanliness. It was said by a pious man, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.' Indeed, the want of

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[1]Minutes, 1744, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.

[2]By 1748, at least, the accounts were handled through the leaders of classes. *Works*, V, 186.

it is a scandal to all religion; causing the way of truth to be evil spoken of. And without industry we are neither fit for this world nor for the world to come."[1]

With these principles as their guide and such homely resources as they could command, the Visitors of the Sick did their work. To be sure, expert medical advice, even so far as the period had it to give, was not easily available and much suffering that might have been prevented by greater knowledge and skill must have occurred. But the plight of the sick was not merely that of lack of expert aid. It was lack of any aid at all and in such a situation the faithful and frequent ministrations of the Methodists were of great value and, as it was a principle of Mr. Wesley not to confine philanthropy simply to "the household of faith," many beyond the sick members of the societies must have benefited.

The effect of this work its chief promoter summed up by saying:

"We have ever since had great reason to praise God for His continued blessing on this undertaking. Many lives have been saved, many sicknesses healed, much pain and want prevented or removed. Many heavy hearts have been made glad, many mourners comforted; and the visitors have found, from Him whom they serve, a present reward for all their labor."[2]

That a group of organized workers had been set to the task of caring for the sick did not mean that Mr. Wesley's touch with the needy was any the less intimate or his concern for them any the less constant. One evidence of his thought is shown in the agreement of "both the men and women leaders" to endeavor to persuade the poorer people in the society to stop drinking tea, and their resolution "to begin and set the example"! The reason given is the great expense of time, of health, and of money incurred by its use. To keep this resolution was not an easy nor an

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[1]For further extracts, see Appendix VIII.

[2]*Works*, V, 187.

agreeable task after years of tea-drinking, as Mr. Wesley's three-days' illness showed, but it was accomplished. Abstinence from tea did not become a rule of the societies nor did Mr. Wesley recommend it to all at first. After the leaders had agreed, he proposed it to about forty of those whom he believed to be "strong in the faith," and then to sixty more. After he had succeeded with these, he recommended the practice to a still wider group and finally to the entire society. It may seem in the present generation as if this were a trivial matter, but it must be remembered that the custom of drinking strong green tea had been followed by definite nervous effects and symptoms of a paralytic disorder, from which Mr. Wesley himself had suffered.[1] Moreover, tea was very expensive. In London in 1741 it sold for eight to thirty-two shillings a pound, and in 1750 for eight to twenty-four shillings a pound.[2] The saving in the four large households at Bristol, Kingswood, London, and Newcastle, Mr. Wesley estimated at upwards of £50 a year. In 1748, two years after he made his first recommendation, he published a *Letter to a Friend concerning Tea,*"[3] in which he reviews the steps which led him to renounce it, and makes a vigorous appeal for the economy involved, in the face of the great need of the poor. "O think it not a small thing, whether only one for whom Christ died be fed or hungry, clothed or naked!"

Other provisions for the benefit of the sick are found in the Minutes of the Conferences. Those for 1744 require the Assistants, who ranked next to Mr. Wesley and his brother, to visit "from house to house (the sick in particular)," and those for 1747 suggest that the minister spend Monday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in visiting the sick. It was also the custom of the ministers attending the Conference to visit only the sick during its sessions. A further noteworthy item is the inclusion of four works on "physick" among the books kept for the use

[1] Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 521-523.

[2] J. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England,* VI, 367-368.

[3] Second Edition, 1749; *Works,* VI, 589; Green, *Bibliography,* No. 119. *Journal,* July 6, 1746, and note.

of the ministers at London, Bristol, and Newcastle. Their titles, which follow immediately those on practical and doctrinal divinity and precede all the rest, are: "Drake's Anatomy, Quincy's Dispensatory, Allen's Synopsis, Dr. Cheyne's Works."[1]

These items, however interesting, fall into unimportance before Mr. Wesley's next medical venture. He had found that the visiting, though helpful, was not adequate to the situation. More expert aid was needed.

"First I resolved to try whether they [the sick poor] might not receive more benefit in the hospitals. Upon the trial, we found there was indeed less expense, but no more good done, than before. I then asked the advice of several physicians for them; but still it profited not. I saw the poor people pining away, and several families ruined, and that without remedy. At length I thought of a kind of desperate expedient. 'I will prepare, and give them physic myself.' For six or seven-and-twenty years I had made anatomy and physic the diversion of my leisure hours; though I never properly studied them, unless for a few months when I was going to America, where I imagined I might be of service to those who had no regular physician among them. I applied to it again. I took into my assistance an apothecary, and an experienced surgeon; resolving, at the same time, not to go out of my depth, but to leave all difficult and complicated cases to such physicians as the patients should choose."[2]

This decision he announced to the society in London, December 4, 1746, stating that he would advise only those who had "chronical distempers" and would not be responsible for acute diseases. Many came and Mr. Wesley advised them and supplied medicines freely whether the applicants were members of the society or not. In the first six months six hundred applied. "More than three hundred of these came twice or thrice, and we saw no more of them. About twenty of those who had constantly attended did not seem to be either better or worse. Above two hundred were sensibly better, and fifty-one thor-

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[1]Minutes, 1744-1748; Wes. Hist. Soc. *Publications,* I, 16, 49, 28.

[2]"Plain Account," *Works,* V, 187. *Journal,* Dec. 4, 1746.

oughly cured."[1] After the first year's trial of the plan, Mr. Wesley reports more than ninety entirely cured; the total expense amounted to more than £40.[2] As time went on, the number of patients increased until some time before 1754 it was found impossible to carry the work further because of the burden of expense.[3] Meanwhile many had been very greatly helped, a result which was due, no doubt, to the strict regimen and wholesome habits upon which Mr. Wesley always insisted as well as to the medicines he prescribed. The dispensary at the Foundery is said to have been the first free dispensary in London.[4] It proved to be such a success that very soon after its opening Mr. Wesley started another in Bristol, where patients were readily found, but several of the medicines desired were not to be had at any price. In January, 1747, there were more than two hundred patients and the number was steadily increasing.[5] Of the later history of this dispensary nothing is known. Criticisms of Mr. Wesley's boldness in giving medical advice were not slow in appearing. One of these he answered in the *Bath Journal* for 1749.[6] A similar defensive statement he put in a letter to Arch-

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[1] *Journal,* June 6, 1747.

[2] *Journal,* Jan. 16, 1748.

[3] *Journal,* Dec. 4, 1746. This part of the Journal was first published in 1754. Green, *Bibliography,* No. 166. This, however, did not end the efforts of the London Methodists to provide for the sick. In 1780 a physician was kept in attendance at the West Street chapel every Tuesday and Friday between eleven and two o'clock to prescribe and provide medicine for those who could show a Methodist quarterly ticket or any who were recommended by Mr. Wesley or the preachers. Telford, *Two West-End Chapels,* 72. Note also the Visiting Societies described below.

[4] Thompson, *John Wesley as a Social Reformer,* 16. All the dispensaries now in existence in London were founded in or after 1770. Once begun they multiplied rapidly, twelve of the present dispensaries being founded between 1770 and 1792. The earliest of these are the Royal General (1770), Westminster (1774), London (1777), Surrey (1777), Metropolitan (1779), Finsbury (1780). *Annual Charities Register and Digest,* London, 1903, pp. 180-192.

[5] Letter to Mr. Blackwell, Jan. 26, 1747; *Works,* VI, 689; G. J. Stevenson, *City Road Chapel, London,* 40.

[6] Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 526.

bishop Secker in 1747, adroitly comparing the ordinary medical practitioners with the clergy of the Established Church and justifying his own work in both situations by its success.[1]

The service of medical advice which was given by the dispensaries was spread to a much larger field by the publication, in 1745, of *A Collection of Receits for the Use of the Poor* (price two pence),[2] compiled by Mr. Wesley, which was followed in June, 1747, by Mr. Wesley's *Primitive Physick; or an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases.* Of the latter astonishing and venturesome work twenty-three editions, with various revisions, were published during Mr. Wesley's lifetime and it also had circulation abroad. The last and thirty-second edition was published in 1828. While its medical significance may be doubtful and its value at points precarious, its great usefulness as an aid to hundreds who needed guidance but could not afford it cannot be ignored. Mr. Wesley himself had no uncertainty as to the value of the book, "which," he said in a pastoral letter to the societies, "if you had any regard for your bodies or your children, ought to be in every house."[3] The price was much lower than that of most other books on medicine, which were usually "too dear to buy and too hard for plain men to understand," and the remedies were generally of a simple and homely order and were supported by practical and sensible rules for the maintenance of health. Patients were always advised in complicated or dangerous cases to have a consultation with "a physician that fears God."[4] In addition to the *Primitive Physick,* Mr. Wesley published in 1769 *Advices with Respect to Health,*

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[1]See Appendix IX.

[2]Green, *Bibliography,* No. 69.

[3]*Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1837, 822; *Journal,* V, 31, note.

[4]The prefaces to the important editions are given in *Works,* VII, 583 ff. Green, *Bibliography,* No. 101. *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1846, 359 ff. "In 1780 Dr. Hawes published a third edition of an *Examination of the Rev. J. Wesley's Primitive Physic.* So rational a confutation did Dr. Hawes great credit while it exposed the ignorance of Mr. Wesley and the absurdity of remedies founded neither on theory or experience."—*Public Characters of 1800-1,* London, 1807, p. 431. Quoted in Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* III, 215.

which was extracted from the work of a Dr. Tissot. For it he wrote a commendatory preface.[1] This was followed in 1774 by *An Extract from Dr. Cadogan's Dissertation on the Gout and All Chronic Diseases,* which was inserted in Mr. Wesley's *Works,* then in process of publication.[2] *Thoughts on Nervous Disorders* appeared from his pen in 1786 in the *Arminian Magazine.*[3]

In behalf of those under his care, Mr. Wesley was always ready to take quick advantage of anything new, whether a ballad-singer's latest tune or the most recent treatise on predestination. One of the most remarkable discoveries of his day was electricity. Experiments with it he first saw in 1747,[4] and he kept steadily in touch with the progress of its investigation. In January, 1753, he recommended the use of "this surprising medicine" in a paralytic disorder with immediate success.[5] A month later he read Franklin's accounts of his experiments, in a pamphlet, published by the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* because of the Royal Society's refusal to take them seriously![6] As knowledge of the curative effects of static electricity grew, Mr. Wesley resolved to make this new power available for the aid of the poor, and in November, 1756, procured an apparatus and directed its use upon those ill with various disorders. The demand for electrification was so large that an hour every day was fixed for those who desired to try the virtues of the mysterious fluid. Two or three years later the patients were so numerous that Mr. Wesley purchased three more sets of apparatus and part of the patients were "electrified in Southwark, part at the Foundery, others near Saint Paul's, and the rest near the Seven Dials."[7] No doubt, many came out of curiosity and for the novelty of the experience.

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[1]The preface is in *Works,* VII, 547. Green, *Bibliography,* No. 255.

[2]Green, *Bibliography,* No. 303 and note.

[3]*Works,* VI, 575.

[4]*Journal,* Oct. 16, 1747.

[5]*Journal,* Jan. 20, 1753. Cf. April 19, 1774.

[6]*Journal,* Feb. 17, 1753. Cf. Tyerman, *Wesley,* II, 161.

[7]For a photograph of the apparatus, see *Journal,* IV, 49.

Many, too, must have turned to it with a hope doomed to disappointment in the very nature of their ailment. Just how valuable the treatment was cannot perhaps be determined. Mr. Wesley, writing four or five years after it was started, had no doubt of its beneficent effects. "While hundreds, perhaps thousands, have received unspeakable good, I have not known one man, woman, or child, who has received any hurt thereby." "Any talk of the danger of being electrified" he imputed to a "great want either of sense or honesty."[1] As in the case of the dispensary, he endeavored to spread the good news beyond the immediate situation by publishing in 1760 *The Desideratum; or Electricity made Plain and Useful. By a Lover of Mankind and of Common Sense,* in which he hailed the new discovery as the general and rarely failing remedy "in nervous cases of every kind (palsies excepted) as well as in many others." Why wait for its use till the doctors break free from the apothecaries and are ready to administer it? "Let men of sense do the best they can for themselves, as well as for their poor, sick, helpless neighbors."[2]

Such were the main efforts of Mr. Wesley and of the organization which he led in behalf of the sick poor. The extent of their effectiveness cannot be known. The real records of such service never appear. Although most of the work here described was done in London, much of it was repeated in other large communities. In addition to the immediate service of the Visitor and the dispensary, it was of the greatest possible value to the sick to be brought into relationship with a type of life which insisted on proper and regular habits of living and a confident, joyous outlook on the world. The sick-visiting was also one of the prominent elements in the training of the philanthropic spirit of the Methodists themselves. Not the least important service which was done was that of putting before an ever-widening circle, Methodist and non-Methodist, the pitiable

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[1] *Journal,* Nov. 9, 1756. First published in 1761.

[2] Green, *Bibliography,* No. 202. Preface in *Works,* VII, 538 ff. Cf. *Journal,* Oct. 31, 1759. For his comment on Priestley's work see *Journal,* Feb. 4, 1768.

state of the needy and of setting the example of sympathetic and unstinted relief. However peculiar some of the means of succor used may have seemed to the facile wit of Mr. Wesley's opponents, and however crude they may appear in the light of methods of a later day, there is no doubting the sincerity and depth of the motive. When Mr. Wesley was bluntly asked, "Why did you meddle with electricity?" he replied with equal directness, "For the same reason that I published the *Primitive Physick*,—to do as much good as I can."[1]

The leading position which Mr. Wesley's own Journal and his other works occupy as historical sources naturally brings into prominence those features of Methodist philanthropy with which he was immediately connected. It would almost seem as if the Methodists were dependent upon him for their charitable ventures. But this is hardly the case. Not only did many individuals do much independent work, but organized societies for various kinds of service were started. Some of the most prominent and effective of these were for visiting the sick. The organized sick-visiting of the societies was a comparatively small amount in the presence of the great need of the larger cities. Even the forty-six visitors with whom the work started would be easily swallowed up in the misery of metropolitan London. No doubt, too, the work was not always carried on with the same vigor.

The first independent society for visiting the sick poor which appeared among the Methodists was started in 1785.[2] Similar societies, also independent of church organization, appeared earlier, such as "The United Society for visiting and relieving the Sick," founded in 1777. This started as a religious society with six members, which was gradually drawn into charitable work. There is no indication of the religious affiliation of its workers. It was enlarged considerably, raising and expending in the first seventeen years of its history more than £2,000 and making six-

[1] Green, *Bibliography*, No. 202.

[2] The Friendly Union Benefit Society which was started in 1756 at West Street Chapel, London, was probably a mutual insurance society. Telford, *Two West-End Chapels*, 71.

teen thousand visits.[1] Another society of like nature was formed in 1781 under the patronage of the Rev. William Romaine, a clergyman of the Established Church who had been closely connected with Wesley in the Revival and who at this time had the living of Saint Anne's, Blackfriars, London.[2] One of the London aldermen was president of the society. Its official title was "The Friendly Society or Charitable Fund for the Relief of the sick Poor at their own Habitations."[3] No doubt similar societies were to be found in other cities at about this time,[4] but the most extensive work of the sort seems to have been promoted by the Methodists.

The foundation of the Methodist visiting society was apparently quite independent of the earlier societies.[5] The originator seems to have been Mr. John Gardner, a former soldier, and perhaps one of the Methodist sick Visitors. In an account of his experience, published under the title *A Grain of Mustard Seed,* he wrote:

"I was led to make application to my neighbors, with the hope of obtaining a small sum weekly, to enable me to give a morsel of bread to my suffering fellow-creatures. This idea first struck me on my way home from a miserable garret, where I had been visiting a poor man dying of a fistula. He lay on the floor covered with a sack, without shirt, cap, or sheet, and in a dull, despairing tone exclaimed, 'I must die without hope.' Returning home, I related to my wife these particulars and asked her if we should subscribe a penny per week each, and try to induce a few of our

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[1]Report for 1798, cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1845, p. 661 f.

[2]*Dict. Nat. Biog.,* art. "William Romaine."

[3]Report for 1794, cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.*

[4]As, for example, "The Charitable Society for Relieving the Sick and Distressed belonging to the Chapels in the City of Norwich," 1782. *British Museum Catalogue.*

[5]Thomas Marriott in his article in *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.,* to which the present account is indebted, says that the Methodist Society was "modeled on the plan" of the United Society, founded in 1777, but no connection appears at any point.

neighbors to do the same. In a few days the number of our infant society amounted to fifteen."

From his class-leader, who probably feared that the weekly class contribution might suffer, Mr. Gardner met some opposition. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Wesley, stating his difficulty, enclosing a copy of their rules, and soliciting financial aid. Mr. Wesley's reply was characteristic.

"Highbury-Place, Dec. 21st, 1785.

"My dear Brethren,—I like the design and Rules of your little Society, and hope you will do good to many. I will subscribe threepence a week, and will give you a guinea in advance, if any one call on me on Saturday morning. I am

"Your affectionate brother,

"JOHN WESLEY."

"Mr. John Gardner,

"No. 14, in Long-Lane, Smithfield."

With this encouragement and approbation the little group was rapidly enlarged and many subscriptions of two pence, four pence, six pence a week, and even more were made. Copies of the rules were sent to other cities where there were large Methodist societies and similar organizations followed. In November, 1786, the first of the London offshoots, the "Benevolent Society and Sick Man's Friend," was begun with headquarters at No. 9, Tower-street, Seven-Dials, "the back way into Mr. Wesley's chapel, where subscriptions, at one penny or more per week, will be taken."[1]

The relation between Methodist institutions in London and Bristol was always very close, and it is not surprising to find the first sick-visiting society outside of London starting in Bristol in September, 1786. A more formal and extended organization grew from this in 1789 and 1790 through Mr. Wesley's interest in it. For it he drew up a brief set of rules and com-

[1]Report of 1788, p. 8. Cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.*

mended it to public notice.[1] "Sunday (March) 14," he writes, "was a comfortable day. In the morning I met the Strangers' Society, instituted wholly for the relief, not of our society, but for poor, sick, and friendless strangers. I do not know that I ever heard or read of such an institution till within a few years ago. So this is one of the fruits of Methodism."[2] From this time on the societies sprang up rapidly. Several were either inaugurated or promoted by Rev. Mr. Adam Clarke (later Dr.), who was one of the strongest of Mr. Wesley's helpers and successors.[3] At Bath, in 1789, he greatly aided and encouraged an association begun by "a few poor, but benevolent, members of the Methodist Society, who met in New-King-street chapel," by publicly commending it from the pulpit, as did his successors. The next year he founded a society in Dublin and followed it with one in Manchester and another in Liverpool.[4] Upon entering the London circuit in 1795 he continued his interest, founding a "Strangers' Friend Society" at Wapping, at City Road, Spitalfields, and elsewhere in the metropolis.[5] In the same year in which Dr. Clarke founded the Dublin Society the Irish Methodists at Waterford formed independently the Association of

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[1]Myles, *Chronological History,* 182-184. Green, *Bibliography,* No. 413. See Appendix X.

[2]*Journal,* March 14, 1790.

[3]*Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.;* Myles, *loc. cit.;* and *An Account of the Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, LL. D., F. A. S.,* edited by J. B. B. Clarke, New York, 1837, 223, 225, 305 f.

[4]The dates of the Manchester and Liverpool societies are in doubt. Clarke's statement, written in 1830 (Clarke, *op. cit.,* p. 305), gives the Manchester date as August, 1790, with more formal organization in March, 1791. These seem the probable dates though Samuel Bradburn's Journal, Nov. 7, 1791, reads "began the Strangers' Friend Society with Mr. Clarke." Mr. Wesley wrote to Clarke on Feb. 9, 1791: "You have done right in setting up the Strangers' (Friend) Society. It is an excellent Institution." *Works,* VII, 207. Clarke was on the Liverpool Circuit in 1793-5 and dates the Liverpool society from this time, but Marriott *(Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.)* gives 1787 as the date. It is quite likely that a small society had been begun in 1787 upon which at a later date Dr. Clarke built, as at Bath. The Dublin Society is still at work. Crookshank, *Hist. of Meth. in Ireland,* II, 21.

[5]See Appendix XI.

Friends of the Sick Poor. Under the leadership of Robert Mackee the city was districted and visitors appointed. As was usually the practice in the Methodist sick-visiting societies relief was given irrespective of religious distinctions and subscriptions were made by many who were not Methodists. This Association was also active in promoting the erection of a Fever Hospital.[1] The Irish Conference of 1794 felt the importance of these societies so strongly that a resolution was passed urging the establishment of similar societies throughout the kingdom. The work which was later carried on at Youghal was perhaps a result of this appeal.[2]

The Strangers' Friend Societies, so-called, seem to have had somewhat different rules and organization from those of the earlier societies at Long-Lane, Smithfield, and at Seven-Dials, and it is quite probable that the more developed movement absorbed the membership and functions of the earlier groups. In 1800 the separate societies in London were united under a central governing committee elected by the subscribers,[3] and thus organized it has continued its work down to the present day.[4] At the time of the reorganization there were Strangers' Friend Societies in Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, York, and Hull as well as in the cities already mentioned.[5]

The work of these societies followed much the same lines as that done by the "Visitors of the Sick" of the Methodist organization. Both physical and spiritual ministrations were a part of their service, and the activity of the society was sometimes reckoned not simply in the number of "cases" relieved, but also in the number of converts made. "Out of 510 cases 111 persons

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[1]Crookshank, *op. cit.*, II, 25.

[2]Crookshank, *op. cit.*, 77, 125. Similar "Friendly Societies" were also formed by the Baptists at the close of the century. J. E. Carlisle, *The Story of the English Baptists,* London, 1905, 172.

[3]Benson, *Vindication of the Methodists* (ed. 1800), p. 24.

[4]*Annual Charities Register and Digest,* London, 1903, p. 359. Income in 1901 over £1,200; voluntary visitors, 150.

[5]Benson, *op. cit.*, 24.

have died," says the Report of the Society at Seven-Dials for 1789; "39 of whom died happy, and 25 very penitent; of those whom the Lord hath restored to health, there are several who walked not in the ways of God before, but are now ornaments to the Gospel—several backsliders have been restored."[1] One difference should be noted between the older system and the new societies. The former always ministered to both Methodists and strangers, indeed, reaching the Methodist suffering more frequently because the information of illness and of need came through the class-leaders. A number of the latter, however, made a point of seeking out the strangers and leaving the Methodist needs to the regular weekly poor collection of the Methodist organization.[2] It is likely that at first in all of the societies the services of the visitors were voluntary and that this continued to be the case for some time. Indeed the secretary of the Seven-Dials Society declares vigorously in his report "that no one person that ever did or does now fill any office in this Society, either did or does receive any salary or emolument for the same, but look for their reward from the Lord, and that not of debt, but of grace." The funds of the societies were raised by weekly subscriptions and the fact that their service did not regard sectarian distinctions made their appeals acceptable to a wider public than simply the Methodist societies.[3] The Bishop of Durham bequeathed £500 to one,[4] and on the visit of George IV to Dublin in 1821 a grant from the privy purse of £50 was made to the society there.[5] From the few reports at hand just the manner and extent of the distribution of relief cannot be determined to any large degree. The Long-Lane Society in its first year aided 1,914 cases at an expense of slightly more than 7d. apiece. In 1792 and 1793 the Manchester Society expended about £500 each year.

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[1] *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.*

[2] Benson, *loc. cit.*

[3] Such an appeal from the Long-Lane Society is quoted, *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.*

[4] Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, VIII, 11, note.

[5] *Wes. Meth. Mag., loc. cit.*, 667.

"Great care," wrote Joseph Benson, who was then on that circuit, "is taken in the distribution of this money. The utmost caution is used, that those only be relieved who are in real want, and incapable at the time of obtaining a necessary supply from other quarters."[1]

II. THE PRISONERS

The horrible state of the prisons of England during the eighteenth century is too well known to require treatment here. As early as January, 1700, the Bishop of London brought the matter before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which made an investigation of Newgate Prison in London and drew up proposals for changes, which were submitted to the City Marshal and to the Lord Mayor and "Sherriffes." A further investigation was carried on in January, 1702, and the proposals already made with some recommendations by Dr. Bray were referred to those "Gentlemen of the Society who are Members of Parliament," before which there was at this time a bill for the reformation of the prisons of the King's Bench and the Fleet. The bill, however, never came to final reading.[2] The Society also distributed many packets of tracts to the London prisons and through its correspondents to the gaols in the counties. Its main work, however, prevented its members from going far into this form of service.[3] Prison reform was also brought before Parliament and with more success by James E. Oglethorpe, with whom Mr. Wesley was later associated in Georgia. One of the results of the study of pauperism which Oglethorpe made at this time was his plan to colonize Georgia with the poor of the mother country and thereby afford relief both to those who went abroad and those who stayed at home.[4] There are also scattered

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[1]Benson, *op. cit.*, 24.

[2]House of Commons, *Journals*, Feb. 3-5, 10, 12, 16, 20, 23, 25, Mar. 14, 28, April 2, 1701-2.

[3]For the S. P. C. K. and prisons, see McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History, S. P. C. K., 1698-1704, passim*, esp. 43, 48-52, 59, 160 f., 163 f., 169, 172; Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, 52, 53 ff., 125.

[4]For Oglethorpe's prison work see arts. "Oglethorpe, J. E.," and "Bam-

evidences of local measures of alleviation, taken by small groups, such as the Holy Club at Oxford, and by philanthropic individuals.

The interest of the Methodists in prisoners began, as we have seen, in the work of the Holy Club at Oxford. Whitefield's first official act after his ordination had been the reading of prayers to the poor prisoners in Oxford[1] and Ingham likewise had begun his ministerial career by preaching at the Castle.[2] But the greatest work of the Methodists for the prisoners was to come during the Revival itself. "The first person," wrote Mr. Wesley, "to whom I offered salvation by faith alone was a prisoner under sentence of death." Not yet had he himself experienced "this new doctrine," but he was following the counsel of Peter Böhler,—"Preach faith *till* you have it."[3] Many and many a time after this was Mr. Wesley to stand by men in a similar plight either in the cell or on the scaffold and offer to them the consolations of religion and the hope of life eternal. Immediately after his return from Germany to London in September, 1738, he began visiting Newgate Prison, London.[4] During May, 1737, Whitefield had already been at work in Newgate, and had "preached and collected for the poor prisoners" twice or thrice a

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bridge, T.," *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and House of Commons, *Journal*, Feb. 28, Mar. 20, 31, April 18, May 14, *et al.*, 1729. Many debtors' petitions from counties all over England were presented at this time praying for relief. *Op. cit.*, Feb. 13, 24, 25, 26, March 13, 24, 31, *et al.* See also pamphlet literature of the period, *e. g.*, *The Miseries of Gaols, and the Cruelty of Gaolers*, London, 1729; *Lieutenant Bird's Letter from the Shades to T-s B-m-dge in Newgate*, London, 1729; *The Case of the Unfortunate Truly Stated, by "W. M.,"* London, 1729; *The Case of Insolvent Debtors Considered*, London, n. d.; *The Unreasonableness and Ill Consequence of Imprisoning the Body for Debt*, London, 1729; *Reasons Against Confining Persons in Prison for Debt*, Westminster, 1729; *et al.*

[1]Whitefield, *Short Account*, Sec. 4.

[2]Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 60.

[3]*Journal*, Mar. 4, 6, 1738. It seems probable that the prisoner, Clifford by name, was converted and met his death, "enjoying a perfect peace." *Journal*, Mar. 27, 1738.

[4]There was also a Newgate in Bristol and one in Dublin.

week.[1] To the same prison Charles Wesley had carried his newly found message of hope in July, 1738, with joyful results among the condemned prisoners. He worked with them constantly, often being locked in their cells over night, and at the end went with them to their execution. "That hour under the gallows," he wrote, "was the most blessed hour of my life."[2] When once he began, however, John Wesley outdid his brethren. During the nine months following September, 1738, he visited or preached at the gaols in London, Bristol, and Oxford no fewer than sixty-seven times.[3] October and early November found him at Newgate, London, sometimes with Charles; late November and early December at Oxford, trying to revive the old work of the Holy Club. In February and March he and Charles were again in London, going to Newgate, the Marshalsea, and the Fleet. At this time Whitefield was preaching in Bristol and giving much of his time to the prisoners in the Newgate gaol there, until the officials refused him admittance, because he "insisted on the necessity of the new birth." Several times he made public collections for the prisoners, in three cases amounting to 15s., £2 5s., and 39s.[4] At Whitefield's earnest request Mr. Wesley came to Bristol in April, and for day after day during that and the following month Mr. Wesley's Diary records laconically "Newgate."

So effective was Mr. Wesley's preaching that at Newgate, Bristol, Mr. Dagge, the keeper, "was much offended at the cries of the people on whom the power of God came." A year later (April, 1740) the Alderman ordered that Mr. Wesley should not be admitted to the prison.[5] A similar prohibition was made by the curate of the parish when Mr. Wesley tried to visit a condemned malefactor in the New Prison, London, in August,

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[1]Whitefield, *Further Account*, 77.

[2]Charles Wesley, *Journal*, July 19, 1738.

[3]Diary and Journal, Sept., 1738, to July, 1739, *passim*.

[4]Whitefield, *Journal*, Feb. 15 to Mar. 17, 1739.

[5]*Journal*, II, 187 (May, 1739); and April 2, 1740. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, V, 5, 7.

1740, and in April, 1741.[1] In September, 1742, however, at Newgate, in London, which also had been closed to him, the opposition of the authorities ceased. From the prisoners he almost always received an eager welcome and not infrequently they sent for him.[2] Opposition from the officials, however, recurred from time to time, in connection with the prisons and with other institutions. Once when forbidden to visit Bedlam, the hospital for the insane, Mr. Wesley dryly remarked, "So we are forbid to go to Newgate, for fear of making them wicked; and to Bedlam, for fear of driving them mad!"[3]

The leaders of the Revival were, however, not the only Methodists who sought to bring aid and hope to the debtors and felons of the English cities. Not a little work must have been done by the preachers. At the Conference of 1778, in response to the question, "Is it not advisable for us to visit all the jails we can?" the answer was made, "By all means. There cannot be a greater charity."[4] Perhaps even more worthy of notice is the service rendered by individual Methodists who made prison-visiting their special care. Such, for example, was Sarah Peters, a woman of remarkable spirituality, whose record of charity Mr. Wesley included in his *Journal* and reprinted in the *Arminian Magazine*. She fearlessly braved the contagious gaol fever, nursing one who was ill with it. She also exerted every means in her power to secure the pardon of another who was to be hanged for stealing nineteen yards of velvet. Up to the very end she ministered to the group of ten who were condemned to death. A few days after their execution she died of a malignant fever, contracted, no doubt, during her efforts for the prisoners.[5]

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[1] *Journal,* Aug. 19, 1740; April 1, 1741. Cf. also Charles Wesley, *Journal,* Sept. 7, 1741.

[2] *Journal,* Jan. 31, 1740; July 17, 1753. Whitefield was also popular with the prisoners. Whitefield, *Journal,* Mar. 17, 1739.

[3] *Journal,* Feb. 22, 1750.

[4] Myles, *Chronological History,* 137. See also the Journal of John Valton, Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* VIII, 118.

[5] *Journal,* Nov. 13, 1748; *Arminian Mag.,* 1782, 128. Cf. Tyerman, *Wesley,* II, 27; *London Magazine,* 1748, 426, 476.

Another of the humble Methodists who became well known for his care for the prisoners was Silas Told, the schoolmaster of the Foundery charity school in London. One morning, in 1744, when Told was attending the five o'clock preaching with his pupils, Mr. Wesley's sermon was on the text, "I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." Becoming sensible of his negligence in never having visited the prisoners, Told was much discouraged, especially as he saw no way to begin. But opportunity was soon provided and he accepted the call.[1] On his very first visit to Newgate he both exhorted the condemned malefactors and accompanied them to the gallows, though "not without much shame, because I perceived the greater part of the populace considered me as one of the sufferers."[2] From this time on he exhorted the felons and debtors in Newgate constantly for more than thirty years. In spite of the opposition of the Ordinary he regularly obtained entrance to the prison on Sunday mornings and, in addition to preaching, succeeded in forming a society on the lines of the Methodist organization. This continued for some time, until the Ordinary was able to exclude him from the debtors' side.[3] This did not discourage Told, and he continued working among the felons and condemned criminals. For those whom he thought innocent he often sought to secure release or reprieve, and the care of those dependent upon criminals finally condemned was frequently his particular concern. His services were especially in demand at executions and the sight of the earnest missionary standing in the cart under the gallows exhorting the unfortunate malefactor and praying with him became familiar to the gaping, cursing mobs that thronged Tyburn on execution days. So characteristic a feature of London life did this become

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[1] *Life of Told,* 80. See also Pike, *Wesley and His Preachers,* 185-195. Told's autobiography was printed also in the *Arminian Magazine,* 1787-1788.

[2] *Life of Told,* 84.

[3] *Op. cit.,* 90. One of the later Ordinaries of Newgate, Joseph Easterbrook, was educated at Kingswood School and remained in connection with the Methodists, though holding office under the Established Church. Tyerman, *Fletcher,* 131.

that Hogarth recorded the scene in one of his graphic paintings, in which, on a rough wagon in the midst of the crowd, Told stands pointing to the sky as he urges to repentance the distraught criminal, at whose back is the coffin he is so soon to occupy.[1]

As is already evident, the Methodist work with prisoners was chiefly of a religious nature and included such charitable offices as might be performed through interest in particular cases. Except for the early activity of the leaders, most of this service was rendered by scattered individuals, many more, no doubt, than will ever be known by name, in London, Bristol, Leeds, York and elsewhere. In 1745, Mr. Wesley printed *A Word to a Condemned Malefactor*[2] and forty years later Charles Wesley brought out his last publication, a pamphlet of poetical *Prayers for Condemned Malefactors*, to which he added his brother's tract.[3] These, no doubt, extended this religious ministry by their own method. The prison-visiting is also to be differentiated from some other Methodist philanthropies in that no organization was produced to carry on the work. Furthermore, no independent and distinctive attitude in the matter of prison reform appears, although this was the crying need of the situation. Two factors in the position of the Revival account for this apparent lack of effectiveness. The movement was primarily and always a distinctively religious movement and as such no organized reforms came clearly within its purview. The ministry of the Wesleys and their associates was also one which never contemplated political action as a means

[1]A reproduction of the picture is given in *New Hist. Meth.*, I, 311. For an example of Told's work see Appendix XII. For Dorothy Ripley, another interesting Methodist prison visitor of a slightly later date, most of whose work was done in America, see Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, VII, 31 ff. Note also the case of Mrs. Kitely in *Journal*, Jan. 30, 1770. The most familiar instance of Methodist prison-visiting in literature is the care of Dinah Morris for Hetty Sorrel in *Adam Bede*, Chap. XLV.

[2]Green, *Bibliography*, No. 81; *Works*, VI, 362-364.

[3]Green, *Bibliography*, No. 384. "These prayers," wrote Charles Wesley in his Journal, "were answered Thursday, April 28, 1785, on nineteen malefactors who all died penitent. 'Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me!'" He left in manuscript several other hymns of a similar nature; see *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, London, 1872, VIII, 347-353.

to the ends which they so strongly desired. It would have been almost hopeless to undertake that method. The class within which the movement was most influential had very little legislative power, owing to the limitation of the franchise, and was thus politically negligible by those who made the laws and were able to initiate constructive reforms. Those leaders in the Methodist group who had influence and power which might have been effectively turned in the direction of prison improvement were occupied with a wider reformation of which the final prison reforms were in a degree the fruit. Indeed, outside of the personal work with the prisoners themselves the influence of the Revival on their condition was largely indirect. Its whole tendency was to emphasize the worth of the individual soul, no matter how low his condition, and this meant a raising of the standard of life for those who needed it most. That the Kingswood colliers and the helpless debtors came to be regarded no longer as profane beasts and unscrupulous and improvident scamps properly caught in their own toils is one of the results of eighteenth century reform in which the Revival had no small part.

It would be an injustice to the Methodist movement, however, to ignore some of its immediate effects in improving the state of the prisons. One of the most interesting consequences of the early work of the Methodists in Bristol resulted from the conversion of Abel Dagge, the keeper at Newgate. Dagge, it will be remembered, was the gaoler, whom Dr. Samuel Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets* praised for his kindness to Richard Savage, who had been imprisoned in Newgate for debt. "The keeper," wrote Dr. Johnson,

"did not confine his benevolence to a gentle execution of his office, but made some overtures to the creditor for his release, though without effect; and continued during the whole time of his imprisonment to treat him with the utmost tenderness and civility.

"Virtue is undoubtedly most laudable in that state which makes it most difficult; and therefore the humanity of a gaoler certainly deserves this public attestation; and the man, whose heart has not been hardened by such an employment, may justly be pro-

posed as a pattern of benevolence. If an inscription was once engraved 'to the honest toll-gatherer,' less honours ought not to be paid 'to the tender gaoler.' "[1]

The Methodists could have informed the learned doctor why it was that the keeper's heart was not hardened. Considerably more significant than his attention to Savage, though not honored with literary renown, was the improvement which Dagge made in the conduct of the prison. This aroused Mr. Wesley's hearty admiration and he wrote a characteristic letter to the editor of the *London Chronicle* with a rather pointed reference to Newgate in London.

"To the Editor of *The London Chronicle.*"

"Sir.—

"Of all the seats of woe on this side hell, few, I suppose, exceed or even equal Newgate. If any region of horror could exceed it a few years ago, Newgate in Bristol did; so great was the filth, the stench, the misery, and wickedness, which shocked all who had a spark of humanity left. How was I surprised then, when I was there a few weeks ago! 1. Every part of it, above stairs and below, even the pit, wherein the felons are confined at night, is as clean and sweet as a gentleman's house; it being a rule, that every prisoner wash and cleanse his apartment thoroughly twice a week. 2. Here is no fighting or brawling. If any thinks himself aggrieved, the cause is immediately referred to the keeper, who hears the contending parties face to face, and decides the affair at once. 3. The usual grounds of quarrelling are taken away, for it is very rarely that any one cheats or wrongs another, as being sure, if anything of this kind is discovered, to be more closely confined. 4. Here is no drunkenness suffered, however advantageous it might be to the keeper and tapster: 5. Nor any whoredom, the women prisoners being narrowly observed, and kept apart from the men, and no woman of the town being now admitted, no, not at any price. 6. All possible care is taken to prevent idleness, those who are willing to work at their callings are provided with tools and materials, partly

[1]Johnson, *Lives of the Poets,* Aberdeen, 1847, 436. Savage died while in prison and was buried by Dagge at his own expense in the churchyard of Saint Peter's. Johnson, 439. The Countess of Huntingdon aided Dagge in his service to the poet. See her *Life and Times,* II, 357, 367-369.

by the keeper, who gives them credit at a very moderate profit, partly by the alms occasionally given, which are divided with the utmost impartiality. Accordingly, at this time, a shoemaker, a tailor, a brazier, and a coachmaker, are all employed. 7. On the Lord's Day, they neither work nor play, but dress themselves as clean as they can, to attend the public service in the chapel, at which every person under the roof is present. None is excused unless sick; in which case he is provided both with advice and medicines. 8. To assist them in spirituals as well as temporals, they have a sermon preached every Sunday and Thursday. And a large Bible is chained on one side of the chapel, which any of the prisoners may read. By the blessing of God on these regulations the prison now has a new face. Nothing offends either the eye or ear; and the whole has the appearance of a quiet, serious family. And does not the keeper of Newgate deserve to be remembered full as well as the man of Ross? May the Lord remember him in that day! Meantime, will no one follow his example?

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."[1]

"Jan. 2, 1761."

Mr. Wesley's service to the prisoners went beyond visiting them and giving publicity to such a transformation as Dagge had wrought. Just before he wrote to the *Chronicle* concerning the improved Newgate, he preached two charity sermons there "for the use of the poor prisoners" and it is certain that much of his own charity, as well as that of other Methodists, was devoted to the relief of this unfortunate class.[2] In 1759, an unknown correspondent sent him £20 to spend for the benefit of prisoners in such a manner as he should deem best. He at once investigated

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[1] *Journal,* Jan. 2, 1761. He declared the Marshalsea Prison in London to be "a nursery of all manner of wickedness. O shame to man there should be such a place, such a picture of hell upon earth! And shame to those who bear the name of Christ, that there should need any prison at all in Christendom." *Journal,* Feb. 3, 1753.

[2] *Journal,* Oct. 16, 1760. Both were reported in the *Bristol Chronicle;* cf. *Journal,* IV, 416.

the circumstances of the Whitechapel and New Prisons and, finding three very distressing cases, expended half of the sum on procuring their discharge. The remainder provided clothing and food for those still in prison who were in pressing want. A letter in *Lloyd's Evening Post* both informed the giver of the use made of his gift and set a worthy example before the public.[1] When he found it necessary, Mr. Wesley was also ready to apply to well-to-do people in behalf of the needy. In January, 1768, he found a poor Dutch chemist, imprisoned in the Marshalsea for debt, "without money, friend, or a word of English to speak. I wrote the case," said Mr. Wesley, "to Mr. T——, who immediately gave fifteen pounds; by means of which with a little addition, he was set at liberty and put in a way of living. But I never saw him since: and reason good; for he could now live without me."[2]

A special class of prisoners also enlisted Mr. Wesley's interest. These were the military captives who were from time to time quartered on English soil. In 1758, at the suggestion of the Countess of Huntingdon, John Fletcher, who later became the Vicar of Madeley, preached in his native tongue to the French prisoners on parole at Tunbridge. The prisoners were deeply impressed and requested him to do so every Sunday. They presented a petition to the Bishop of London asking leave for Mr. Fletcher to preach regularly, which was peremptorily denied. "If I had known this at the time," said Mr. Wesley, "King George should have known it, and I believe he would have given the Bishop little thanks."[3] A large draft of French soldiers was imprisoned at Knowle, a mile from Bristol, in October, 1759. Mr. Wesley heard that they were kept in very unsanitary quarters, ill-fed, and poorly clothed, and, as a result, were dying by scores. He walked out from Bristol to investigate their condition and found to his relief that the mortality among them was greatly exaggerated and that the food and sanitation were satis-

[1] Appendix XIII.

[2] *Journal,* Jan. 2, 1768.

[3] Wesley's "Life of Fletcher," *Works,* VI, 136; Tyerman, *Fletcher,* 31-32, 49.

factory. They were suffering greatly from the cold climate and insufficient clothing. By this he "was much affected," and preached a charity sermon in the evening on the text, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The resulting collection of twenty-four pounds was expended for clothing and "carefully distributed where there was the greatest want." Mr. Wesley also wrote a clear report of the conditions, in a letter to *Lloyd's Evening Post* which secured further supplies for the prisoners. "Presently after, the Corporation of Bristol sent a large quantity of mattresses and blankets; and it was not long before contributions were set on foot at London, and in various parts of the kingdom, so that I believe from this time they were pretty well provided with all the necessaries of life."[1] Just a year later he visited them "and found many of them almost naked again. In hopes of provoking others to jealousy, I made another collection for them, and ordered the money to be laid out in linen and waistcoats, which were given to those that were most in want."[2] Twice in later years he made a point of preaching to military prisoners, in 1779 to the American prisoners at Pembroke, and in 1783 to the Dutch prisoners at Winchester.[3]

Such were the interest and service of Mr. Wesley and the Methodists in behalf of the prisoners. In the actual work of prison reform, the dominating figure is that of John Howard (1726-1790), whose life in its constant journeying in England and on the Continent, its contact with the needy and the outcast, and its unswerving devotion to his chosen work much resembled that of the leader of the Revival. It is interesting to note that each of these men greatly admired the other.

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[1] *Journal,* Oct. 15, 1759; quoted in full with the letter to *Lloyd's Evening Post* in Appendix XIV.

[2] *Journal,* Oct. 24, 1760. The *Bristol Chronicle* for Oct. 23, 1760, has this notice: "A charity sermon will be preached at the New Room in the Horsefair on Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, by the Rev. John Wesley for the use of the French prisoners at Knowle." Cited in *Journal,* IV, 417 note.

[3] *Journal,* Aug. 21, 1779; Oct. 10, 1783.

In 1787, near the end of their careers, they met in Dublin. Mr. Wesley recorded of it: "I had the pleasure of a conversation with Mr. Howard, I think one of the greatest men in Europe. Nothing but the mighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employments."[1] Mr. Howard's appreciation of the venerable Methodist, more than a score of years his senior but still active, was in kind. "I was encouraged by him to go on vigorously with my own designs. I saw in him how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perseverance; and I thought, why may I not do as much in my way as Mr. Wesley has done in his, if I am only as assiduous and persevering? and I determined I would pursue my work with more alacrity than ever."[2] Two years later he called on Mr. Wesley in London to give to him a copy of his *Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe.* "Present my respects and love to Mr. Wesley," said he, for Mr. Wesley was away at the time. "Tell him I had hoped to have seen him once more: perhaps we may meet again in this world, but, if not, we shall meet, I trust, in a better."[3] Early in the next year Mr. Howard died in Russia from a fever caught while nursing a sick girl. He was outlived by his great contemporary by thirteen months.[4]

III. THE POOR

The place of poor relief in the Methodist organization has been delineated in an earlier chapter. The collection and use of the relief funds were a regular part of the society's activity and it steadily continued to aid the poor, as far as these funds could

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[1]Tyerman, *Wesley,* III, 495, 581. Howard may have heard Wesley preach at Cople in 1746. *Journal,* V, 155 note.

[2]Moore, *Wesley,* II, 362-364.

[3]Moore, *Wesley, loc. cit.*

[4]On Howard, see J. Houghton, *Howard, the Philanthropist,* London, 1884; J. B. Brown, *Memoirs of Howard,* London, and J. Field, *Correspondence of John Howard the Philanthropist, not before published,* London, 1835. One of Howard's traveling companions for a time was a young Methodist, Jonathan Ferguson. Stevenson, *City Road Chapel,* 488.

suffice. Often, however, the depression of trade threw many out of work, the scarcity of supplies put the necessities of life almost out of reach and the constant failure of the parish poor relief to meet such a situation quickly brought many to the position of direst want. With such hardships the Methodists were in closer contact than any other group of their size in England. By far the greater portion of their work was done among the laboring classes in the poorer quarters of the cities and in the villages and hamlets. Much emphasis was laid by the personal influence of Mr. Wesley upon the importance of work among the less well-to-do. He was hardly a respecter of persons and his sympathies were always with those in need. The Journals are filled with experiences with the poor, observations on cases of individual want, and records of efforts to relieve them. He warned his preachers occasionally not to be tempted to cultivate the wealthy, even for the sake of their work. The common slur on the poor that "they are poor only because they are idle" he branded as "wickedly, devilishly false."[1] To a cultured friend who was hesitating about visiting the poor he wrote, "I have found some of the uneducated poor who have exquisite taste and sentiment; and many, very many, of the rich who have scarcely any at all."[2] The emphasis on the worthfulness of the individual, no matter what his station in life, was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, contribution of the Revival to the social reformation of England. As a natural consequence of the activity of the Methodists among the poor, much of the membership of the societies was drawn from that class. Both in Bristol and in London the poverty of numbers of the Methodists is shown in special efforts for their aid. In November, 1750, Mr. Wesley tried to take account of all in the society that were in want. "I was soon discouraged, their numbers so increasing upon me, particularly about Moorfields, that I saw no possibility of relieving them all, unless the Lord should, as it were, make windows in heaven."[3]

[1] *Journal,* Feb. 10, 1753.
[2] *Works,* VI, 782-783.
[3] *Journal,* Nov. 2, 1750.

In 1772, Mr. Wesley found the society at Colchester "hard beset with poverty." "Few of our societies are rich," he added, "but I know none in the Kingdom so deplorably poor as this." Again, in 1777, he visited the society members in Bethnal Green hamlet and declared many of them to be "in such poverty as few can conceive without seeing it."[1] Many other instances might be given both of the presence of large numbers of poor in the societies and of special occasions when the need far outran the assistance available in the regular poor fund.

Numerous efforts were made to provide for the emergencies of need which frequently occurred. Sometimes these were in behalf of individuals or single families. Such, for example, was Mr. Wesley's charity sermon at Rosmead for a distressed family,[2] and many similar instances must have gone unrecorded, especially since Mr. Wesley's own contributions never are mentioned in his Journal. More significant are the large special collections which were designed to relieve as many of the poor as possible. One of the early preaching places of the Wesleys was near the poorhouse outside of Lawford's Gate in Bristol. The severe frost and the lack of assistance from the parish caused much suffering in 1740, and three collections were made by Mr. Wesley, enabling him to feed "a hundred, sometimes a hundred and fifty a day" of those who needed it most.[3] In November of the same year the society distributed clothing of various kinds "among the numerous poor."[4] Again, in connection with the beginning of the penny-a-week poor fund at London, in May, 1741, the members of the society were directed "to bring what clothes each could spare, to distribute among those that wanted most."[5] The winter season was always severe upon the poor in one way or another and that of 1744 was marked in this respect. In February Mr. Wesley made two collections which amounted to about

[1] *Journal*, Jan. 15, 1777.

[2] *Journal*, May 7, 1758.

[3] *Journal*, Jan. 21, 24, 27, 1740.

[4] *Journal*, Nov. 3, 1740. Diary, Nov. 3, 1740.

[5] *Journal*, May 7, 1741.

eighty pounds. Since this was not enough, he determined to "beg for the rest" by a personal canvass throughout the classes of the London society. As a result he increased the fund to about a hundred and seventy pounds, which supplied clothing, "linen, woollen, and shoes" for three hundred and thirty poor. For the expenses still unpaid and for the thirty or forty persons still in want he made on Good Friday another collection of twenty-six pounds. "This treasure, at least, 'neither rust nor moth' shall 'corrupt,' 'nor thieves break through and steal.' "[1] Similar collections are recorded at Bristol in January, 1759, and again at London in March, 1765, and September, 1767. At the time of the second of these an additional appeal was made in behalf of the poor weavers who were out of employment, and this brought in forty pounds.[2] In January, 1763, the frost was exceedingly severe and unusual suffering occurred. "Great numbers of poor people," reported *Lloyd's Evening Post,* "had pease pottage and barley broth given them at the Foundery, at the expense of Mr. Wesley; and a collection was made, in the same place of worship, for further supplying the necessities of the destitute, at which upwards of £100 was contributed."[3] At other times when the needs of the poor were particularly pressing special collections not recorded in the Journal were no doubt secured. Mr. Wesley was not one to pray for the relief of the poor without taking practical measures in their behalf.[4]

Particular attention to the needs of the poor was given by Mr. Wesley in the later years of his life. In 1783, when he was over eighty years old, he spent a week in Bristol "begging" for the poor and applying the £90 which he gathered to their relief.[5] A few months later, in London, "desiring to help some that were in pressing want, but not having any money left, I believed it

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[1] *Journal,* Feb. 17, 27, Mar. 22, 1744.

[2] *Journal,* Jan. 7, 1759; Mar. 10, 1765; Sept. 27, 1767.

[3] *Lloyd's Eve. Post,* Jan. 26, 1763, cited in Tyerman, *Wesley,* II, 468.

[4] Such emergencies are indicated in *Journal,* Nov. 2, 1750; Feb. 10, 1753; Dec. 31, 1772; Jan. 8, 1773; Jan. 15, 1777.

[5] *Journal,* Sept. 26; Oct. 1, 1783.

was not improper," he wrote, "in such a case to desire help from God. A few hours after, one from whom I expected nothing less put ten pounds into my hands."[1] The depth of the winter was the time in which the society usually distributed coals and bread to the poor. What a picture, then, we have in 1785 of this white-haired champion of the needy tramping through the deep slush of a London winter for five days in succession to beg two hundred pounds to clothe the poor as well as to feed them and keep them warm! "It was hard work, as most of the streets were filled with melting snow, which often lay ankle deep; so that my feet were steeped in snow water nearly from morning to evening: I held it out pretty well till Saturday evening."[2] About a month later for several days he visited many of the poor to see with his own eyes "just what their necessities were and how they might be effectually relieved."[3] In January, 1787, he again gave five days to visiting the society in the interests of the poor. He was disappointed in the results, as he did not secure all that he desired. But with the two hundred pounds raised "much good was done and many sorrowful hearts made glad."[4]

In addition to the emergency relief which the collections afforded, two other methods were put to practice in the endeavor to aid the poor. These were the employment scheme and the lending fund. Even while Mr. Wesley was in Georgia, a plan for employing the poor appears to have been in his mind.[5] Our sources do not define its character and Mr. Wesley's return to England seven months later prevented the crystallization of the project. The second effort was more successful. In November, 1740, the London society was much perplexed by the problem of taking care of the unemployed. After various suggestions they selected twelve of the poorest and set them to carding and spinning cotton under the direction of a "teacher." The society-

[1] *Journal*, Jan. 12, 1784.

[2] *Journal*, Jan. 4, 1785.

[3] *Journal*, Feb. 13, 1785.

[4] *Journal*, Jan. 8, 1787.

[5] *Journal*, May 3, 1737; Diary, May 6, 9, 1737.

room provided the place for doing the work. The venture was maintained for four months, till the winter was past. In this way the cost of maintenance was very slight, as the product paid for almost the entire expense. Mr. Wesley's close attention to the enterprise is shown by his Diary, which records briefly "s[pinners]" for twelve days between the beginning of the undertaking and his departure for Bristol. On five of these days he was with the spinners twice a day.[1] An extension of this design was made in the following May, when Mr. Wesley proposed to the society the employment in knitting of all women out of work. The supervision of this was put into the hands of twelve who, it will be remembered, also visited the sick. There must have been many more who were benefited by this than by the earlier project, but just how many is not known. The duration and practical success of the enterprise also remain in obscurity.[2] An attack was made on Mr. Wesley for this method of employment in the *Scots Magazine* and in the *Weekly Miscellany,* the slanderous assertion being made that the workers were runaway servant girls and discharged menials and that the proceeds went into Mr. Wesley's pocket. Immoral practices were also intimated. In the same issue of the *Scots Magazine* another writer reported that he visited the Foundery and found none of these things.[3]

The second scheme for relieving the poor was much more successful and endured for a much longer time. One of the great needs of those on the margin of poverty is enough additional capital to tide them over an emergency or to enable them to start on a more profitable line of employment. The services of the pawnbroker were usually supposed to meet this need, but all too often the security which was demanded meant the surrender of tools or equipment necessary in the household. We may be sure that it was not without observation of the practical

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[1] *Journal,* Nov. 25, 1740; Diary, Nov. 25, 29; Dec. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1740.

[2] *Journal,* May 7, 1741.

[3] *Scots Magazine,* August, 1741, p. 380; *Weekly Miscellany,* April 25, 1741. Cited in Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 357.

effects of pawning upon the poor that the "Directions to the Band Societies" contained the vigorous injunction, "Pawn nothing, no, not to save life."[1] A way out of the dilemma between pauperism and pawning Mr. Wesley provided in the lending-stock. This he began in July, 1746, by raising thirty pounds among his friends "from one end of the town to the other." This was placed in the hands of two stewards, who were at the Foundery every Tuesday morning to lend, to those who wanted, any sum up to twenty shillings. This was to be repaid week by week within three months. The scheme was a great success. Within the first eighteen months, according to the stewards' books, more than two hundred and fifty applicants were aided. In January, 1748, Mr. Wesley made a public collection to enlarge the fund, this time reaching the total of fifty pounds. "Dr. W., hearing of this design, sent a guinea toward it; as did an eminent Deist the next morning." The fund continued at this level for nearly twenty years when Mr. Wesley again "made a push for the lending-stock," speaking more strongly than ever before. The result was the addition of seventy pounds, which brought the total to one hundred and twenty. The administration apparently continued in much the same manner, though by 1772 the borrowing limit was increased to five pounds. A steward's receipt for a loan made in 1764 shows that it was customary for the note to be indorsed by some one as security. The borrower was further identified by the signature of his class leader.[2] The only remaining record of the results of such aid, which must have been of incalculable advantage to many at crucial times, is

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[1] *Works,* V, 193.

[2] *Journal,* July 17, 1746; Jan. 17, 1748; Jan. 11, 1767; *Works,* V, 189. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* III, 197-8. Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 551. A photograph of the certificate is in *Journal,* III, 247, and Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* V, 192. In 1773, the West Street Chapel made a collection "for ye lending stock" of £15 4s. *Meth. Recorder,* Christmas No., 1895, p. 35. The Catholic "Montes Pietatis," first founded in the 15th century, were confined to the continent. They required an object of value as security and the payment of interest, though at a rate not usurious. *Cath. Encycl.,* 1911, art. "Montes Pietatis."

that of the famous James Lackington. While a poor cobbler in Bristol Mr. Lackington became a Methodist and on his removal to London he set up a second-hand bookstore, in which he was aided in 1774 by a loan of five pounds from the Methodist lending-stock. His business ability was so effective that five years later his catalogue showed a list of twelve thousand books for sale and very soon even more than two and three times as many. His shop, called "The Temple of the Muses," came to be one of the sights of London. By 1791 his profits were estimated at £4,000 annually. Early in his career his Methodism was upset and his *Memoirs,* published in 1791, contained some attacks upon his former friends which he lived to regret and to apologize for in his *Confessions,* published in 1804. In the latter he writes,—

"I perhaps ought also to observe that, if I had never heard the Methodists preach, in all probability I should have been at this time a poor, ragged, dirty cobbler, peeping out from under a bulk with a snuffy nose and a long beard; for it was by their preaching that I was taught to call upon God for His grace to enable me to turn from my vicious course of life, and through which I became a real Christian. It was by their means also that I was excited to improve a little my intellectual faculties. It was through them that I got an amiable helpmeet in my first wife. . . . . It was also through them that I got the shop in which I first set up for a bookseller. It is very likely that, had I never heard these people, I should have been now an old drunken, debauched fellow like the generality of journeymen shoemakers; and it is well known that many, very many, instances of the same kind might be adduced; great numbers by being connected with them have learned to be industrious and frugal, by which means they have been enabled to live in credit, to provide something for their children, and to support themselves in their old age."[1]

As in the case of the prisoners, Mr. Wesley's interest went

[1] *The Confessions of J. Lackington, late bookseller, at the Temple of the Muses,* New York, 1806, 171-2. See also Appendix XV. For Lackington's life see his *Memoirs* and *Dict. Nat. Biog.,* XXXI, 370.

beyond such provision as he and his society could make. The winter of 1772-1773 seems to have been particularly severe upon the poor. At Norwich in October Mr. Wesley found a multitude of unemployed, "such a general decay of trade having hardly been known in the memory of man." Colchester was in the same straits. At London "the necessities of the poor" were very great, though fortunately the winter was unusually healthy, the sick being surprisingly few. "So wisely does God order all things, that the poor may not utterly be destroyed by hunger and sickness together."[1] On December 31, 1772, the society made special prayer in behalf of the poor and the eighth of January following was observed as a "day of fasting and prayer, on account of the general want of trade and scarcity of provisions." The attention of Parliament was drawn to the situation by the Address from the Throne at its reopening, Nov. 26, 1772, and within ten days bills were prepared and passed for the free importation of grain and flour of all kinds from Europe, Africa, and the Colonies and other measures to reduce the consumption of food supplies in distilling and in the manufacture of starch were undertaken.[2] The newspapers and magazines of the winter were filled with articles and letters commenting on the emergency and making recommendations of every imaginable kind. Mr. Wesley's contribution to the discussion took the form of a letter sent to *Lloyd's Evening Post.* It appeared in this paper on December 21, 1772, and was reprinted in the *Leeds Mercury* eight days later and in the *London Chronicle.* In January Mr. Wesley issued it as a pamphlet with some additions and alterations under the title *Thoughts upon the Present Scarcity of Provisions.*[3] He attacks vigorously the consumption of wheat in distilling, averring that there is reason to believe that nearly "half of the wheat produced in the kingdom is every year consumed, not by so harmless a way as throwing it into the sea; but by converting it into deadly poison; poison that naturally

[1] *Journal,* Oct. 27, 1772; Nov 3, 1772; Dec. 21, 1772.

[2] House of Commons, *Journal,* Vol. 34, *passim.*

[3] *Works,* VI, 274-278; Green, *Bibliography,* No. 286; *Journal,* V, 491 note.

destroys, not only the strength and life, but also the morals of our countrymen!" In addition to this waste, the prevention of which alone would reduce the price of grain one-third, he thinks that the breeding of horses for export has hindered the raising of cattle and other food animals. A heavy tax on this exportation would, by reducing the number of horses, also reduce the demand for oats and consequently their price. The consolidation of small holdings by wealthy farmers has also prevented the raising of poultry and swine, an industry which the small farmers need and which the great farmers neglect. Personal luxury and the national debt also have a large share of responsibility for the pitiable condition of so many. Of course, the influence of such a letter to the press cannot be appraised, but the standing of the author would be sure to gain wide notice for proposals which, though not new, served to focus attention on the necessity of radical changes in the conduct of national affairs. The measures taken to relieve the emergency of distress were soon effectual and the general situation improved. The advancing prosperity of the country was noted by Mr. Wesley with much interest.

"In traveling through Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bristol, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, I diligently made two inquiries: the first was concerning the increase or decrease of the people; the second concerning the increase or decrease of trade. As to the latter, it is, within the last two years, amazingly increased; in several branches in such a manner as has not been known in the memory of man: such is the fruit of the entire civil and religious liberty which all England now enjoys! And as to the former, not only in every city and large town, but in every village and hamlet, there is no decrease but a very large and swift increase. One sign of this is the swarms of little children which we see in every place. Which, then, shall we most admire, the ignorance or confidence of those that affirm, population decreases in England?"[1]

Similarly in Bristol itself he found considerable increase in

[1] *Journal*, May 1, 1776.

population, basing his estimate on the number of inhabitants per house. In addition, "in visiting all the families, without Lawford Gate, by far the poorest about the city, I did not find so much as one person who was out of work."[1] A year and a half later the same prosperity is recorded in London. "This week," he wrote,

"I visited the societies and found a surprising difference in their worldly circumstances. Five or six years ago, one in three, among the lower ranks of people, was out of employment, and the case was supposed to be nearly the same through all London and Westminster. I did not now, after all the tragical outcries of want of trade that fill the nation, find one in ten out of business; nay, scarce one in twenty, even in Spitalfields."[2]

In earlier chapters the systematic visiting of the sick in their homes and the less systematic but quite as persistent visiting of the prisoners have been noted. In addition to this, and to the visiting of the poor occasioned by the distribution of the collections and other relief, attention was also given to the workhouses. As far back as the time of the Holy Club, those at Oxford were visited by John Clayton, by Wesley himself, and by other members of the Club. In the later experience of Mr. Wesley not so much attention was directed to the workhouses as to the prisons and to other places where the needy could be found, but they were not ignored. From time to time he preached in them, visited them, and commented in his Journal on the conditions which he found.[3] The organized work of the Methodists for the inmates of the workhouses seems to have begun with a

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[1] *Journal,* Sept. 9, 1776.

[2] *Journal,* Feb. 2, 1778. Mr. Wesley published in the same year, as an antidote to "the tragical outcries," *A Serious Address to the people of England, with regard to the State of the Nation; Works,* VI, 336; Green, *Bibliography,* No. 327. Cf. *Journal,* Feb. 17, 1778. On the general economic conditions in England at this time, see Gibbins, *Industry in England,* 321 ff., and Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times,* 5th ed., sections 209-253, *passim.*

[3] See Appendix XVI.

group of young men about the year 1772.[1] Just when and how the organization was formed is not clear. Apparently three or four young men who were members of the Foundery society and who had been engaged in religious work among the poor formed a plan for more effective work together. One of them was William Palmer (1746-1822), a blind preacher, who was considered the "Father" of the organization which developed.[2] They laid their project before Mr. Wesley, who replied, "I approve of your design; *let it be well conducted;* and it will be much to the glory of God."[3] The intention of the little group, which gradually increased in number, was to visit the workhouses on Sundays and minister to the religious and social needs of those they found there. Mr. Wesley is said to have persuaded the authorities to permit the group to carry out their plans in the parishes of Saint Luke's, Finsbury, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Saint George's in the East, and many others. The name which they early adopted was "The Christian Community."[4] It proved to be a very useful adjunct to the regular Methodist work in London. Frequently the members of the Community started

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[1]It will be remembered that the winter of 1771-2 was exceedingly severe. It is suggested that this workhouse visiting was the result of the sympathy which this emergency evoked. Tyerman, *Wesley,* III, 134; *Journal,* V, 495 note.

[2]Stevenson, *City Road Chapel,* 594. Among other early members were George Mackie, John Bruce, and Loftus Highland. Stevenson, 509, 495, 527.

[3]Letter to George Mackie, *Meth. Mag.,* 1821, 939. Cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.,* 509.

[4]It is suggested that the group who began the organization came from the Huguenot settlement in Spitalfields and that they originally regarded themselves as members of the "Communauté, a name common to the pious stock from which they had sprung." *History of the Christian Community, A. D. 1818-1826. . . With an introductory glance at its history during ninety-six years by George J. Stevenson, London,* 1868. The current advertisement of the Community contains the statement, "founded by the Huguenots, 1685." *Annual Charities Register,* London, 1903, 747. Stevenson seems to have made no effort to solve the discrepancy. Pike, *Wesley and His Preachers,* 195, says that Wesley's work was the reorganization of "the Christian Community, a mission founded by the Huguenots soon after their settlement in this country in the seventeenth century."

new preaching places which were later added to the local circuit of the regular preachers. According to the rules of 1811, membership in the Methodist connection for at least a year was one of the requirements for admission into the Community. The administration of the Community seems to have been entirely in the hands of its members until 1817, when the preachers asked for more control, as the Community was using the property of the Methodist societies. About 1847 the restriction to Methodist membership was removed. Since that time the "Christian Community" has passed into a sphere of wide usefulness and is still conducting a very important work in London. Its income in 1901 was about $26,000, administered through four hundred and fifty volunteer workers.[1]

[1] *The Annual Charities Register and Digest,* London, 1903, 385. The summary of work shows "15,000 average workhouse inmates and about 2,000 lodging-house inmates visited weekly; 7 mission halls entirely supported; 20,000 breakfasts, teas, cocoa suppers; 1,021 bread, lodging, and other relief tickets; 13,000 children's dinners and breakfasts; about 5,012 children and adults taken to the country for a day; 500 for a week; 11,000 workhouse inmates entertained at Christmas; 21 open-air stations; . . . . 2,336 attendances (about) made by poor widows employed in making clothing; 1,150 garments made and sold."

CHAPTER IV

Methodist Philanthropic Institutions

The philanthropic spirit of the Methodists, as it has been presented thus far, has expressed itself in various forms of visitation and relief of the needy in their homes, and of the poor and the prisoners in the workhouses and prisons. It now remains to describe those enterprises in which the poor or the ignorant were gathered together in institutions for protection and instruction. Of some of these the history has already been written in more detail than can be included here. Of others the materials desired for a suitable account are either unavailable or no longer in existence. Perhaps the freshened interest in early Methodist affairs, of which the new edition of the Journal is both a sign and a stimulus, may bring to light data now lacking.

I. THE KINGSWOOD SCHOOLS

One of the first of the institutional enterprises begun by the Methodists during the period of the Revival was the school for the colliers' children at Kingswood. The work of the Methodists in Kingswood was started by Whitefield in February, 1739, with the first open-air sermon of the Revival. The colliers soon became great favorites with Whitefield and he preached in Kingswood frequently to great audiences.[1] He was very desirous to have Wesley join him in Bristol and aid him in the work there and at Kingswood. Wesley was loath to go, but finally decided to accede to Whitefield's request and reached Bristol on the last day of March.[2] Two days later two significant events occurred. On the same afternoon Whitefield laid the stone of the school at

[1] Whitefield, *Journal,* Feb. 17, 1739, and February to July, *passim.* Cf. Wesley, *Journal,* II, 156 note.

[2] *Journal,* March 10-31, 1739, and notes *passim.*

Kingswood and Wesley preached his first open-air sermon, the one starting an educational venture that remains to this day through many changes as the historic school of Methodism, the other inaugurating a campaign of field preaching that reached all the United Kingdom and has as its fruit churches and philanthropic agencies the world over.[1] With whom the idea of a school at Kingswood originated is not known. Charity schools were common by this time and were rapidly spreading into many of the cities and the well-populated country districts, and many of Whitefield's charity sermons had been preached in their behalf.[2] Both Whitefield and Wesley were interested in children and in education in their Oxford days. Whitefield also knew of the work of Griffith Jones, who started many schools in Wales during the contemporary revival there.[3] The first notice of the Kingswood school is in Whitefield's Journal for March 29, 1739. "Blessed be God," he wrote,

"I hope a good work is begun today. Having had several notices that the colliers of Kingswood were willing to subscribe, I went to dinner with them near a place called Two-Mile Hill, and collected above twenty pounds in money, and got above forty pounds in subscription towards building them a charity school. It was surprising to see with what cheerfulness they parted with their money on this occasion. Were I to continue here, I would endeavour to settle schools all over the wood, as also in other places, as Mr. Griffith Jones has done in Wales; but I have only just time to set it on foot. I hope God will bless the ministry of my honoured friend, Mr. John Wesley, and enable him to bring it to good effect. It is a pity that so many little ones, as there are at Kingswood, should perish for lack of knowledge."

When, three days later, on leaving Bristol, he passed through the district again, not expecting to stop, he found that the colliers

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[1] Whitefield, *Journal,* April 2, 1739; Wesley, *Journal,* April 2, 1739.

[2] Whitefield, *Further Account,* 80, 81, 85, *et al.*

[3] Cf. Whitefield, *Journal,* Mar. 9, 1739; Tyerman, *Whitefield,* 189-190 note. It is possible that there was a small charity school already in the district at Conham. Cf. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* VI, 138-9 note.

had prepared entertainment for him and were very anxious that he should lay the stone. "At length, I complied, and a man giving me a piece of ground (in case Mr. C[reswicke] should refuse to grant them any),[1] I laid a stone, and then kneeled down on it and prayed that the gates of hell might not prevail against our design."[2] The carrying out of this design he left to Mr. Wesley,[3] but not without forwarding it by preaching several charity sermons in its interest. An embargo prevented him from sailing for Georgia in June, when he expected to sail, and in July he again visited Kingswood and found the schoolhouse nearly completed.[4] All his charity collections for the school were made in the five weeks which elapsed before he sailed, as follows: July 13, at Bristol; July 22, at Moorfields, London, £24 17s.; and at Kennington Common, London, £15 15s. 6d.; July 29, at Moorfields, £24 9s.; and Kennington Common, £20; August 12, at Blackheath, £15; a total of over £100.[5] A pastoral letter which he wrote to the Religious Societies during his voyage to America was published and sold by James Hutton in 1740, for the benefit of the school.[6] Meanwhile the burden of fulfilling the plan fell upon Wesley. On April 24, he visited the place where Whitefield had laid the stone and found it satisfactory, though he desired definite word from Whitefield that "he would have the first school there or as near it as possible.[7] About three weeks later he again looked over the ground and fixed upon a location between Lon-

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[1]Mr. Creswicke seems to have claimed manorial rights over part of the district. For the complications arising over the title to the property finally secured see Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, III, 68-72; VI, 103 and note.

[2]Whitefield, *Journal*, April 2, 1739.

[3]Cf. statement above and Whitefield's letter to Wesley, April 3, 1739, cited in Tyerman, *Wesley*, I, 233.

[4]Whitefield, *Journal*, July 10, 1739.

[5]See Whitefield's *Journal* for the respective dates. Cf. also his letter of July 23, 1739, to Rev. Ralph Erskine, cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, 268.

[6]Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, 317 note.

[7]One of the so-called "Moravian" letters of Wesley, cited in Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, III, 72; *Journal*, II, 183 note.

don and Bath road.[1] The laying of the stone by Mr. Wesley came a week later, on May 21, and the building was begun.[2] It was to consist of one large room for the school and four small rooms at either end for lodging the masters and possibly some poor children. "It is proposed," wrote Mr. Wesley to an inquirer,

"in the usual hours of the day to teach chiefly the poorer children to read, write, and cast accounts; but more especially (by God's assistance) to 'know God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent.' The older people, being not so proper to be mixed with children (for we expect scholars of all ages, some of them grey-headed), will be taught in the inner rooms, either early in the morning, or late at night, so that their work may not be hindered."[3]

In the spring of 1740 the projected building was finished and the school was opened.[4]

At Whitefield's request, John Cennick was made one of the first teachers of the school and remained until the end of 1740, when Wesley expelled him with others from the Kingswood society for hypocrisy and slander growing out of doctrinal differences.[5] Cennick and his friends formed another society in Kingswood and allied themselves for a time with Whitefield and Howell Harris and the Calvinistic wing of the Revival. This new group emulated the original society by building a chapel and

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[1]Moravian letter of May 25, Wes. Hist. Soc., *loc. cit.* Cf. also Cennick's "Account," Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, VI, 103-104; *Journal*, II, 199 note.

[2]Diary, May 21, 1739.

[3]*Journal*, Nov. 27, 1739. A plan for teaching the older people was also projected by John Cennick in connection with a later school in Kingswood.

[4]*Journal*, Nov. 27, 1739. The two teachers first secured were Robert Ramsey and Gwillam Snowde. Probably neither did any teaching at Kingswood, for before the school opened they were suspected of misuse of funds and returned to London. Shortly after, Snowde was sentenced to transportation for robbery, and two years later Ramsey was executed at Tyburn for a similar offense. Journal, II, 323 note; Jan. 31, 1740, Feb. 6, 12, 1740; Jan. 11, 1742; *London Magazine*, 1742, p. 47. The original building remains to this day, serving as the chapel of a reformatory. *Journal*, III, 238 note.

[5]Cennick, *Discourses on Important Subjects*, preface, xxviii. Cennick, "Account," Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, VI, 105, 133-136. *Journal*, Feb. 22, 28, 1741.

school on some land bought of a collier. Cennick laid the corner-stone June 18, 1741. The school was finished early in 1742 and services were held there during that year. In May of the following year "he began a free school for the colliers' children and settled Mr. Little as master. He was to be paid out of the weekly collection, and for some time it went on well, till Mr. Little took to drinking." This obliged them to break up the school, and its brief history was ended.[1]

The original school, however, persisted, though visited by many afflictions. The doctrinal differences which arose between Whitefield and Wesley were aggravated by the misrepresentations of their adherents, and the administration of practical affairs was made very difficult. In April, 1741, Whitefield reproached Wesley with perverting the design and asserted that the children at Kingswood had been neglected. Wesley's reply was direct and severe in tone.

"'Those at Kingswood have been neglected.' This is not so, notwithstanding the heavy debt which lay upon it. One master and one mistress have been in the house ever since it was capable of receiving them. A second master has been placed there some months since; and I have long been seeking for two proper mistresses; so that as much has been done, as matters stand, if not more, than I can answer to God or man.

"Hitherto, then, there is no ground for the heavy charge of perverting your design for the poor colliers. Two years since, your design was to build them a school, that their children also might be taught to fear the Lord. To this end you collected some money more than once; how much I cannot say, till I have my papers. But this I know, it was not near one half of what has been expended on the work. This design you then recommended to me, and I pursued it with all my might, through such a strain of difficulties as, I will be bold to say, you have not yet met with in your life. For many months, I collected money wherever I was, and began building, though I had not then a quarter of the money requisite to finish. However, taking all the debt upon myself, the

[1]Cennick, "Account," *op. cit.*, 140; *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1843, 206.

creditors were willing to stay; and then it was that I took possession of it in my own name; that is, when the foundation was laid; and I immediately made my will, fixing my brother and you to succeed me therein."[1]

After this Whitefield seems to have left the matter entirely in Wesley's hands. In spite of the difficulties of finding proper teachers and of keeping both the discipline and the religious behavior of the children at the proper level, this school for colliers' children survived into the nineteenth century, drawing most of its support from the Kingswood society.[2] Though it was intended primarily for the children of colliers, Methodists in other parts of England for some years previous to 1748 sent their children to it. In that year the school for preachers' children was begun as an enlargement of the earlier school and took the title of the "Kingswood School." The curriculum of the colliers' school seems to have resembled that of the contemporary charity schools, with, of course, more emphasis upon religious instruction. The preachers' children's school had a very carefully framed curriculum of classical studies. To both institutions Mr. Wesley gave constant attention, preparing text-books, reorganizing the staff of masters and mistresses from time to time and frequently preaching there and catechizing the children. The Journal is filled with references to his solicitude for their success, though he is more particularly concerned with the newer school. No further mention of the colliers' school is made in the Journal, save in a letter from one of the masters in 1768, reporting a revival among the boys of both schools.[3]

From the point of view of philanthropy the colliers' children's school is the more significant of the two. To be sure, most of the preachers were very poor and the care of their children might indeed be regarded as an act of charity. But the proper maintenance of the preachers' families and their children was technically, at least, a responsibility of the Connection, especially since the

[1] Tyerman, *Wesley*, I, 348.

[2] *Journal*, III, 356 note.

[3] *Journal*, May 5, 1768.

preachers were expected to give their entire time to their work and the salaries were very meager. It will not be out of place, however, to indicate briefly the formation of the school and its methods, especially since the latter will throw some light on the conduct of the colliers' school. The "enlargement" was planned and begun in 1746, when Mr. Wesley laid the corner-stone for two additional houses for resident pupils, and shortly after conveyed the property to trustees.[1] The formal opening of the "enlarged" school did not occur until June 24, 1748, when Wesley preached on the text "Train up a child in the way he should go." The curriculum had already been made out and was approved, together with the rules, by the Conference on June 4.[2] The curriculum was both religious and thoroughly classical, including Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and covered seven or eight years, with a possibility of two or three years more of advanced work. And of it the Fellow of Oxford declared that those of tolerable capacity might advance "more here in three years than the generality of students at Oxford or Cambridge do in seven." Among the books which Mr. Wesley revised for the school were Kennet's *Antiquities of Rome,* Archbishop Potter's *Grecian Antiquities*—"a dry, dull, heavy book," Mr. Lewis's *Hebrew Antiquities,* and Dr. Cave's *Primitive Christianity.* He also prepared two or three short histories, a compendium of logic, and grammars of English, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.[3] The prescribed regimen for the children was severe. Play was forbidden. Mr. Wesley adopted the German proverb, "He that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man." Particular care was also taken to have the children continually supervised by the masters.[4] "Never

[1] *Journal,* April 7, 1746; June 24, 1748.

[2] Bennet Minutes, Wes. Hist. Soc., *Publications,* I, 54-57. This was the fifth of the annual conferences between Wesley and his preachers.

[3] *Journal,* Sept. 27 to Oct. 15, 1750. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* IV, 78. *Works,* VII, 609-745.

[4] For full description of curriculum, rules, and diet, see "A Short Account of the school in Kingswood" (1768), "A Plain Account of Kingswood School" (1781), and "Remarks on the State of Kingswood School," *Works,* VII, 332-345.

let the children work but in the presence of a master." The breach of this rule occasioned their "growing wilder and wilder" until two were expelled, "one of them exquisitely wicked."[1] The charges of the school were paid by tuition and boarding fees of £14 a year for the first seven classes, thereafter £20, and by an annual collection throughout the Societies, one of the standard Conference questions being "What is the Kingswood collection?" Provision for the education of the daughters of the preachers at other schools was made from this collection.[2] Attendance at the school was not confined to preachers' children until after Mr. Wesley's death.[3]

II. THE SCHOOLS AND POORHOUSES AT LONDON AND BRISTOL

Two of the institutions for which the sources provide scant information were located at the "New Room" in the Horsefair in Bristol, the first building erected especially for the Methodists, and at the Foundery in London, the meeting-place of the first Methodist Society. At Bristol the Nicholas Street Society had begun a charity school which was first opened on March 25, 1739. Whitefield earnestly recommended its support, collecting for it himself at the door of the meeting-room, "and few passed by without throwing in their mites."[4] In May, this Society and that which met at Baldwin Street united and took possession of ground in the Horsefair, in order to construct a room for them both.[5] In this building provision was made for accommodating the school of the Nicholas Street Society, and in June, 1739, Mr. Wesley met the society in the "shell of our schoolroom."[6] Of

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[1] *Journal,* June 21, 1751.

[2] *Minutes of Conferences* (ed'n of 1812), I, 207.

[3] For a complete history of the school see Hastlings, Workman, and Willis, *The History of the Kingswood School, by Three Old Boys,* London, 1913.

[4] Whitefield, *Journal,* Mar. 25, 1739.

[5] Wesley, *Journal,* May 9, 1739.

[6] "Moravian" letter to James Hutton, June 4, 1739, cited in *Journal,* II, 208 ff.; cf. Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* V, 8. Cf. also the letter of July 2, *Journal,*

the formation of the plan and its execution little is known. It seems to have been a parallel enterprise to that of the colliers' school at Kingswood. To this relationship Mr. Wesley referred with some vigor in his letter to Whitefield in April, 1741. Whitefield had apparently made some criticism of the expenditures for the New Room and felt that Mr. Wesley was neglecting the school at Kingswood for the sake of the school at Bristol.[1] Mr. Wesley seems, indeed, to have intended it to be no small venture, for during part of the time, at least, there were four schoolmasters and a mistress on the budget. This was found to be too expensive in view of the contributions and in May, 1741, Mr. Wesley and the stewards decided to discharge two of the masters.[2] An effort was made to clothe the children, to which Whitefield objected, whereat Wesley responded that he was "sorry for it, for the cloth is not paid for yet, and was bought without my consent or knowledge."[3] No other particulars concerning the school are available.

At the Foundery in London, some time before 1748, both a poorhouse and a school were started. The poorhouse arose out of Mr. Wesley's observation that there were many, chiefly "feeble, aged widows," who, though not sick, were unable to provide for themselves. After consultation with the stewards it was agreed that the expenses would be less and the comforts greater if the group which it was desired to serve might be gathered together rather than left scattered about the parish. Accordingly, two

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II, 233-234, Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, V, 12-13. Is not the Standard Edition in error in punctuating "On Tuesday the 26th . . . I went as usual to the Schoolroom . . . . at Baldwin Street. William Farnell," etc.? Should it not read "to the Schoolroom . . . At Baldwin Street, William Farnell," etc., as Foster has it in *Proceedings*, V, 13? There is no indication of a school at Baldwin Street.

[1] *Works*, VI, 683; Tyerman, *Wesley*, I, 348. Cf. *Journal*, II, 458 note.

[2] *Journal*, May 23, 1741. References to the school may appear in the Diary, but it is impossible to distinguish them from those to the Kingswood school. Robert Ramsey may have been one of the first teachers, though only for a very brief time. *Journal*, Jan. 11, 1742, and note. See p. 79 note.

[3] *Works, loc. cit.*

small houses were rented and fitted up, and as many widows as there was room for were accommodated. There was little money in sight for the enterprise at the start and Mr. Wesley had to set aside for it the weekly collections of the bands and the collection made at the Lord's Supper. Even this did not suffice, and after an unknown interval the institution was discontinued for lack of support. In 1748, Mr. Wesley reports it as caring for "nine widows, one blind woman, and two poor children, two upper servants, a maid and a man." The preachers on the circuit, as well as Mr. Wesley, generally had their meals there.[1] The school at the Foundery also arose from Mr. Wesley's perception of the needs of those about him. Children in abundance he found who had no schooling whatever and those who went to school were "almost under a necessity of learning Heathenism at the same time." He accordingly resolved to have them taught in his own house, and for the purpose secured two schoolmasters, of whom Silas Told, already mentioned, was one. In spite of the advantage of the good position which he held as a clerk, he obeyed Mr. Wesley's rather imperative summons to teach and began his task some time in 1744. Of his experiences there he had but this brief paragraph to record in his autobiography:

"The day after, I was established in the Foundery-school, and in the space of a few weeks, collected threescore boys and six girls; but the society, being poor, could not grant me more than ten shillings per week. This, however, was sufficient for me, as they boarded and clothed my daughter. Having the children under my care from five in the morning till five in the evening, both winter and summer, sparing no pains, with the assistance of an usher and four monitors, I brought near forty of them into writing and arithmetic. I continued in the school seven years and three months, and discharged two hundred and seventy-five boys, most of whom were fit for any trade."[2]

In 1748, sixty children attended, a few having the tuition

[1] *Works*, V, 188, see Appendix XVII. Cf. G. J. Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 41.

[2] *Life of Silas Told*, 79.

paid by their parents, though most were too poor to pay. Those who needed it were clothed and all were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, which they "swiftly learned." "At the same time they were diligently instructed in the sound principles of religion, and earnestly exhorted to work out their own salvation." How carefully they were guided in this matter may be seen from the rules, which provided for attendance at the morning sermon, for ten hours daily at school with no play days, and permitted no speaking in school except to the masters! The administration of the school was in the hands of two stewards, who received subscriptions for its support and supervised its operation.[1] The West Street society contributed generously to the funds of this school until it established one of its own. Its annual collections for this purpose averaged about fifteen pounds, though that of 1767 reached £31 10s. 8d.[2] The school was discontinued some time before 1772.[3] In 1778, the Foundery Society moved into its New Chapel at City Road. Five or six years later a house was taken in a street in the rear of the Chapel and Arthur Jarrett, who joined the Methodists in 1783, was made its first schoolmaster, remaining with it for more than twenty years.[4] Mr. Wesley preached a charity sermon in City Road Chapel, in November, 1786, "for our little charity-school, where forty boys and twenty girls are trained up both for this world and for the world to come."[5]

The charity-school at West Street Chapel originated in the active interest which Margaret Stiles, a servant in Mr. Wesley's family, took in a poor orphan boy. Toward the expense of his education she herself gave six-pence a week and collected sixteen half-pence weekly from the members of the class to which she

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[1] *Works,* V, 188; Appendix XVII.

[2] Telford, *Two West-End Chapels,* 74; *Meth. Recorder,* Christmas No., 1895, p. 35.

[3] *Works,* V, 188. See also VI, 707.

[4] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel,* 88, 333.

[5] *Journal,* Nov. 12, 1786.

belonged.[1] For this school Mr. Wesley also preached charity-sermons, twice on Nov. 25, 1787, and again on Feb. 14, 1790, when £15 8s. 9d. was collected.[2] The school seems to have had as many as one hundred and forty scholars at one time. So large a school was quite expensive; £46 13s. 2d. was set aside for its needs in 1792.[3] The Episcopalians at St. Mary's-le-Strand made collections for it in 1802-1804. The school had by this time been moved to the Great Queen Street Chapel, where it was continued for many years.[4]

III. THE NEWCASTLE ORPHAN HOUSE

The second building which was erected for the exclusive use of the Methodists was the so-called "Orphan House" at Newcastle. As in the case of the Bristol societies, the primary need was a suitable place for the large and growing congregation of Methodists and it was chiefly for this purpose that the "Orphan House" was built. The foundation stone was laid by Mr. Wesley on December 20, 1742.[5] As in the case of most of Mr. Wesley's building projects, there was very little money in sight when he began, and men of less sturdy faith than his had many doubts as to the outcome. But like Francke's Orphan House at Halle, which had so greatly impressed Mr. Wesley, when he was in Germany, the results justified the venture of faith. It was probably with Francke's institution in mind and with the hope that his own might resemble it in more than this particular that Mr. Wesley named the building in Newcastle "The Orphan House." When completed, the structure contained a large chapel, a "band-room," and several rooms for the use of the class meetings.

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[1] Telford, *op. cit.*, 74; *Meth. Recorder,* Christmas No., 1895, p. 35; *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1829, 153.

[2] *Journal,* Nov. 25, 1787, Feb. 14, 1790. Telford, *op. cit.*, 23.

[3] Telford, 73.

[4] *Meth. Recorder, loc. cit.;* Telford, *loc. cit.; Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1829, 153-154.

[5] *Journal,* Dec. 1, 4, 7, 8, 13, 20, 23, 1742.

There were also apartments for the residence of the preachers and a small study for Mr. Wesley.[1]

It is quite evident that the original design of Mr. Wesley included regular instruction of poor children. The deed by which Mr. Wesley transferred the property to trustees indicates his intent to hold a school to

"consist of one master and one mistress, and such forty poor children as the said John Wesley . . . shall from time to time respectively appoint; And that such of them the said poor children being boys, shall be committed solely to the care of such master, and be by him instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and that such other of them the said children as shall be girls shall be under the sole care and instruction of such mistress and by her taught reading, writing, and needlework; . . . . . "[2]

No evidence appears that this design was ever carried out in any particular during Mr. Wesley's lifetime. It seems to have been a provision of the deed of which use was never made. The inclusion of this provision, however, caused the trustees more than a century later some difficulty with the Charity Commissioners when the sale of the property was contemplated.[3] No suggestion of the use of the building in caring for widows or old people is included in the statements of the early plan, but it was so employed to some extent. How many aged and poor were thus cared for and how they were supported is not known. Mr. Wesley, no doubt, expended some of his private charity in this way. Nelly Dixon, who died in 1790, had been an inmate for nearly thirty years and Rebecca Proctor, who died the same year, had lived in the Orphan House for more than forty years.[4] This attention to the aged was perhaps more incidental than that at the Foundery where a more extended effort was made.

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[1]Stamp, *The Orphan House of Wesley,* 16.

[2]Stamp, *op. cit.,* 269, 270.

[3]Stamp, *op. cit.,* Chap. IX.

[4]Stamp, *op. cit.,* 86 note.

IV. THE GEORGIA ORPHAN HOUSE OF WHITEFIELD

Most of the philanthropy of the early Methodists so far discussed found its objects and the needs which it sought to relieve within England itself. One outstanding example of Methodist charitable work, however, was in the far-away colony of Georgia. Here the mantle of John and of Charles Wesley had fallen upon Whitefield and to his labors more than to those of any other is due the rise of the Georgia Orphan House and its continuance in the face of considerable odds for more than thirty years. This Georgia enterprise differed from many of the other Methodist philanthropies in that there was no supporting organization behind it. Whitefield never displayed the genius for organization and administration which Wesley possessed, and relied almost entirely on his own efforts to interest people in it and to secure the necessary funds. Moreover, the appeals which Whitefield made were addressed, not, in the main, to the Methodists and their friends, but to Churchmen, Methodists, and Dissenters alike. They were, in the fullest sense of the word, popular appeals. The great audiences which he always drew served to advertise the institution far and wide on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and current interest in the colony itself and its hardships promoted common knowledge of its most widely known representative. Edinburgh, Boston, Charleston, London, New York, Philadelphia, and countless smaller towns in the United Kingdom and the American Colonies heard his appeal in churches and chapels, in public squares and open fields, and freely contributed. But it was Whitefield, and Whitefield alone, to whom the results were due.

The idea of erecting an orphan house in Georgia did not originate with Whitefield, however, but with his friend Charles Wesley, who, it will be remembered, had served as secretary to Oglethorpe, the governor of the colony. Both John and Charles had written to Whitefield, the one from Georgia, the other from London, suggesting that he join the work in Georgia, and Charles had mentioned to him the matter of an orphan house for which, at the request of the Trustees for Georgia, Charles had drawn

up a plan.[1] The project already had Oglethorpe's approval.[2] Charles, however, never returned to Georgia and, just the day before Whitefield's ship sailed for America, John arrived in England to remain.[3] In preparing for his first visit to the colony Whitefield made no effort to collect funds or form plans for the projected institution. He knew that his return to England to obtain priest's orders would be necessary and only desired to find out the conditions in Georgia before proceeding with the design. Preliminary interest, however, was aroused by his public collections for the poor of Georgia.[4] On the voyage out his friend Habersham spent part of the time instructing and catechizing the children, as Delamotte had done when he came out with Mr. Wesley. Arriving in Georgia, Whitefield found Delamotte still there and by him was made acquainted with the work already begun.[5] Whitefield was soon conversant with the affairs of the colony and made special inquiry concerning the children and the provision made for their maintenance and education.[6] For the instruction of a score of children at two small villages, Highgate and Hempstead, he enlisted the services of one of his fellow voyagers as teacher and paid the expenses of the school from the funds which he had collected for the poor. One of the villagers gave part of his lot and others their labor for the erection of the schoolhouse. The children were of French extraction and he felt that if they would learn English they might the more easily be naturalized, and that religious work could not be done among them without it.[7] He also began a school for girls in Savannah

[1]Charles Wesley, *Journal,* Nov. 2, 7, 1737. "I read over *Pietas Hallensis,* and desired our Orphan House might be begun in the power of faith." The influence of this book on Methodist philanthropy was considerable.

[2]Whitefield, *Further Account,* 70 ff.; *Works,* III, 463.

[3]Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 114-115.

[4]See Appendix XXIV.

[5]Whitefield, *Journal,* May 7, 1738.

[6]Whitefield, *Journal,* May 19, 1738.

[7]Whitefield, *Journal,* June 10, Aug. 24, 1738. The teacher was John Doble. The items of the expense of the school are given in Whitefield's *Account of Money Disbursed in Georgia;* see Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 136 note.

which another of his fellow-voyagers taught.[1] Among the settlers of Georgia had been two companies of very poor Salzburghers who had been driven from their homes by religious persecution. At Ebenezer, where they were located, they had built a small orphan house for seventeen children. Whitefield visited them with great interest and left for them some of the stores which he had brought from England.[2] Having satisfied himself as to the need and the conditions, he returned to England after a four months' stay in Georgia.

It is not necessary for the purpose in hand to give a detailed account of the nine months which Whitefield spent in England raising money and advancing the interests of his cherished plan. They were tremendously busy months. As he expounded the Gospel in the Religious Societies and preached everywhere in churches and out, he grew enormously in reputation and in popular favor. Wherever he went, the thought of the Orphan House was with him. As has been noted before, many other enterprises were aided or initiated by his efforts, but the Orphan House was his predominant concern. From the Trustees for Georgia he secured a grant of five hundred acres for its location and support.[3] Of particular note are the great collections he made from his audiences. Moorfields and Kennington Common were favorite preaching places. Sometimes the weight of money was so great as to require two men to carry it, as much as £16 or £20 being in half-pence.[4] By the time he left England in August, 1739, he had collected nearly a thousand pounds for the Orphan House as well as large amounts for charities in England itself.[5]

Upon his return to Georgia Whitefield at once began the construction of the buildings on the site which his friend Habersham had already selected ten miles from Savannah.[6] The latter

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[1] Whitefield, *Journal,* June 11, 1738.

[2] Whitefield, *Journal,* July 11, 1738.

[3] Whitefield, *Journal,* May 9, 1739.

[4] Whitefield, *Journal,* May 9, 1739.

[5] *The Craftsman,* June 9, 1739, cited in Tyerman, Whitefield, I, 234 note.

[6] On the voyage out Whitefield had read Francke's *Pietas Hallensis* and

had already cleared some acres of ground and gathered some live stock. Whitefield named the place Bethesda, "a house of mercy." One main building was planned with two or three small houses near it, one of which was to be the infirmary, to be managed by the surgeon whom he had brought with him.[1] The first brick was laid March 25, 1740.[2] In the construction Whitefield employed most of the sawyers, bricklayers, and carpenters in Savannah, to push the work on.[3] Indeed economy does not seem to have been a controlling factor in the project. It was a considerable undertaking to set up such an institution as Whitefield planned in the wilderness ten miles from Savannah,[4] and it is not unlikely that he was overcharged by the colonists.[5] Early in 1741 the buildings were completed and "the family," which had already been housed in other buildings on the place, moved in.[6]

Even before any of the buildings were ready, Whitefield had begun to collect the orphans and poor children of whom he expected to take care, renting one house and using three more for the purpose.[7] It must not be thought that some provision for orphans had not been made before Whitefield's appearance on the scene. The Trustees for Georgia had realized their responsibility for them and through an agent some were put out to board with various colonists' families and others at service. This method was open to serious abuses,[8] especially because of the

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was greatly encouraged by it, expecting to model the Orphan House on the lines of that institution. Both Charles and John Wesley had read it earlier. Whitefield, *Journal,* Sept. 15, 1739.

[1]Whitefield, *Journal,* Jan. 11, 30, *et al.,* 1740.

[2]Whitefield, *Journal,* Mar. 25, 1740.

[3]William Stephens, *Account of the Proceedings in Georgia,* 1742, cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 351.

[4]He approved this location because it would keep the children from the bad example of the town. *Journal,* Jan. 11, 1740.

[5]Letters of Mr. Nesbit, *Scots Magazine,* 1741, and Whitefield's replies; cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 543 ff.

[6]Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 42.

[7]Letter in *Scots Magazine,* 1741; cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 544.

[8]Whitefield, *Works,* III, 464; Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 545. In Virginia

demand for labor in the colonies. Because of the sanction which the Trustees had given him, Whitefield now had the right to bring under the protection of his institution all the orphans who had not received proper care. He even went so far as to be jealous of any other care of them, and came at this juncture into conflict with one of the magistrates and with the Governor himself. A family of orphans in which the latter was interested was being supported by the labor of the eldest, who was in Oglethorpe's employ.[1] Whitefield, rather officiously asserting his charitable prerogative, marched off the younger children to the Orphan House. On hearing of this, the Governor pointed out to Whitefield that the latter's province was to care for the *helpless* orphans alone, which was the only particular in which the authorities could substitute his work for theirs, since orphans who were being privately supported did not come under their control. Whitefield, however, refused to surrender the children and the Governor had them removed by one of his officials during Whitefield's absence.[2] It was Whitefield's original plan to start with only twenty orphans, but so many cases of need appealed to him both of orphans and of other poor children who needed care and education that he soon enlarged his plan. Shortly before the main building was completed in 1741 he had forty-nine children under his care, twenty-two of them orphans. Three of the others were maintained by friends, and the rest were half-orphans. Most of them were English, but ten were Scotch, four Dutch, five French, and seven American.[3] In some cases he gathered in orphans from other colonies and upon one voyage even brought some from England.

The educational aspect of the enterprise differed radically

the children were under the care of the parish vestries, and an annual "orphans' court" was held to guarantee proper treatment. See "Education in Colonial Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly,* V, VI, VII.

[1]This was John Mellidge, who became the representative of Savannah in Georgia's first General Assembly.

[2]Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 364-5. See Appendix XVIII.

[3]Whitefield, *An Account of the Money Received and disbursed for the Orphan House in Georgia,* 1741. See Appendix XIX.

from that of the institutions founded by the more scholarly Wesley. Vocational training rather than classical was the need of the day in Georgia. Whitefield, accordingly, provided that the children who were old enough should be taught trades, apprenticing them to masters in Savannah or to the tailor or the surgeon whom he had brought over from England. The plantation itself which surrounded the Orphan House afforded opportunities for many kinds of skill, and the cotton grown on it was spun and woven there. The girls were trained also in "housewifery." As might be expected, the literary instruction of the children centered around religious subjects and a formidable lot of books was presented for the children's reading and study. Piety was indeed the prime object of the entire scheme, and Whitefield records with great joy evidences of "conviction" and "assurance" on the part of the children and others connected with Bethesda. He had, however, ambitions for an additional school for "academic" learning, which we shall note later, and, as early as the winter of 1746-1747, started a Latin school at the Orphan House.[1]

For the present study the detailed record of the troubled history of the institution and its roving founder need not be given. On one occasion the entire "family" had to be moved to South Carolina for six weeks because of an invasion by the Spanish.[2] At other times hostile approaches of Indians caused much anxiety.[3] Many published attacks of one kind and another were made upon Whitefield both in America and England, some asserting cruelty to the children, others improper financial management. These he had to face and to weather. There was no ground for either, even though more economy might have been exercised and greater success attained by a less ambitious enterprise. In fact, his purchase of slaves and a plantation in South Carolina, over which his biographers seek to draw a veil, was an effort to reduce the costs which were kept so high by the

[1] *Christian History*, 1747, 30, cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield*, II, 169.

[2] Tyerman, *Whitefield*, II, 23.

[3] Whitefield, *Works*, III, 259, 261, 262.

legal requirement of employing only white labor in Georgia, a rather scarce commodity.[1] After the removal of the requirement, he sold his South Carolina property, called Providence Plantation, and took up more land near Bethesda for a similar purpose.[2] Whitefield was also careful to have his accounts audited and vouchers for every item of expenditure, with the exception of four amounting to £40, were found in the audit of 1770, covering transactions of thirty years and a total expenditure of over £15,000. Of this amount about £4,000 were received by the sale of the produce of the ground at Bethesda and on other tracts granted to the institution by the Trustees. £3,300 were contributed by Whitefield himself to meet the surplus of debts which he found it necessary to incur for the Orphan House from time to time. None of his travelling expenses in its behalf were paid from its funds and the teachers and assistants were content to receive only their living expenses. More than half the support came from the public collections made by Whitefield.[3] England and Scotland gave over £5,400 and large contributions were made in the Colonies. Whitefield's most powerful instrument in this work was the charity-sermon. Many interesting anecdotes are told of his methods, and his enemies bore no uncertain testimony to his success. "By his affecting comments on the widow's throwing her two mites into the treasury," says a writer in the *Scots Magazine* in 1742,

"many who live on charity have literally given him the whole of their living, and have been obliged to beg their next meal. At his

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[1]The prohibition against slave labor in Georgia was in force from 1735 to 1750, in spite of frequent protests from the colonists. Whitefield and Habersham both favored its removal, the former asserting to the Trustees that "Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed." Letter of Dec. 6, 1748, Whitefield, *Works,* II, 208; Appendix XXI. Cf. also *Works,* II, 90-91, 404-405; W. B. Stevens, *History of Georgia . . . to . . .* 1798, New York, 1847, Vol. I, 285-318; C. C. Jones, Jr. "The English Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1752," in *Narrative and Critical History of America,* ed. by Justin Winsor, V, 356-406.

[2]Whitefield, *Works,* II, 471.

[3]General balance sheet given in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* II, 581.

diets for collecting, when he has raised the passions of his audience by a suitable sermon, his next care is to ply them while in a right frame. For this purpose he makes his last prayer very short; thereafter pronounces the blessing without singing psalms; and then immediately falls a collecting, in which he shows a great dexterity."[1]

The classic example of his success is the experience of Benjamin Franklin, who, seeing a collection in prospect, determined to give nothing at all, and ended by giving every coin, copper, silver, and gold, that he had in his pockets.[2]

As has been indicated, Whitefield's ambition went beyond simply an Orphan House to a school of "academic" learning. He had hopes of making preachers out of some of the Orphan House boys. To this end and to that of providing a school of high standard for the youth of the colony and its neighbors the academy was proposed[3] and an instructor sought for as early as 1749, but for a long time the design was held in abeyance. In December, 1764, however, influenced perhaps by his knowledge of the "College in New Jersey" and the "College at Philadelphia,"[4] he submitted a memorial to the Governor and Council of Georgia, proposing to change the Orphan House to a college and asking for a grant of two thousand acres of land for the purpose. Both the Council and the Governor approved heartily and the matter was referred to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.[5] A similar memorial he addressed to His Majesty's Privy Council, when he was in England in 1767.[6] The Earl of Dartmouth, Lord President of the Privy Council, transmitted

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[1] *Scots Magazine,* 1742, pp. 459, 464. Quoted in Tyerman, Whitefield, II, 35. Cf. also, Tyerman, *op. cit.,* 424 note.

[2] *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.* Edited by John Bigelow, New York, 1909, 222. See Appendix XX.

[3] See Appendix XXI; and Whitefield, *Works,* II, 232.

[4] See Appendix XXIV.

[5] Whitefield, *Works,* III, 469-475. Habersham, the first superintendent of the Orphan House, who had come to Georgia with Whitefield on his first voyage, was now President of the Upper House of the Council.

[6] See Appendix XXI.

it to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his Grace's consideration and opinion. The latter insisted that the charter should require, as did that of the college in New York,[1] that the head of the college be a member of the Established Church and that the liturgy of the Church be used in the services held there. To this Whitefield saw serious objections. While the head of the Orphan House had so far been a Churchman and the liturgy had been regularly used every Sunday, and both customs were likely to continue, the restriction seemed to be an injustice to the large number of Dissenters who had contributed to the Orphan House. Whenever he had been asked about the foundation of the college, he had replied that "it should be upon *a broad bottom and no other.*" "This, I judged, I was sufficiently warranted to do, from the known, long-established, mild, and uncoercive genius of the English government; also from your Grace's moderation towards protestant Dissenters; from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans to toleration principles."[2] Whitefield felt the disadvantage of such an obligation the more strongly because he believed that it had "greatly retarded the progress of the college of New York," and because the college in Philadelphia, which was on a "broad bottom," had prospered.[3] The Earl of Dartmouth and the Archbishop held to their position, however, and Whitefield found his plan frustrated.[4] While this design was

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[1]That is, King's College, now Columbia University. The requirement still holds!

[2]Whitefield, *Works,* III, 480-482; Appendix XXII.

[3]Whitefield, *Works,* III, 475-476. "The monies gained by the *New-York* lotteries for the erecting of a college in *New-York* were thrown in by persons of all religious persuasions, in confidence that the College would hereafter be founded on an enlarged basis. And therefore, very great numbers, may it please your Grace, think, and forever will think themselves injured, by its being confined within its present contracted boundary. Hence it is that many fine, promising youths are almost daily sent from the college in their native city to that of *New-Jersey*" (now Princeton). The protest against the restriction in King's College was particularly strong from the Presbyterians. See *A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904,* Col. Univ. Press, 1904, Chap. I.

[4]For the correspondence with the Archbishop and other papers see

pending, the Orphan House had been practically closed, but now Whitefield proposed to revive it, making more adequate provision for indigent children and adding to it a public academy to be "a seat and nursery of sound learning and religious education, to the latest posterity." In this project he was following the example of the "college of Philadelphia," which was first a charity school and preaching station and then a public academy for some time before its charter as a college was granted.[1] For this enlarged institution new buildings were planned, workmen were sent over from England, and in March, 1769, the Governor, attended by the Council and many other notables, laid the foundation stones.[2] In January, 1770, ten months later, a very formal and elaborate reception to His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council of Georgia was given at Bethesda, where the new buildings were nearing completion. Before ten months more had passed, Whitefield died in Newburyport from overwork, having preferred, as he said, to "wear out rather than rust out." The Orphan House and all its property were bequeathed to the Countess of Huntingdon, who had been one of the most generous benefactors. It did not remain long on her hands. She sent in 1772 a president and master and her own housekeeper to direct its affairs, but in June, 1773, the main building was burned to the ground and the school was thereafter abandoned.[3] In 1782 the property was confiscated by the Americans.[4] Part of what was saved from the wreck was invested by the authorities of Savannah in a school which was in existence in 1857.[5]

Whitefield, *Works*, III, 469-485, a part of which is quoted in Appendix XXII. John Wesley also opposed the plan both for the college and for the academy which was instituted later; Appendix XXIII.

[1]Whitefield, *Works*, III, 484.

[2]*Lloyd's Evening Post*, June 2, 1769, cited in Tyerman, *Whitefield*, II, 559. Whitefield was in England at the time. For a drawing of the plans, see Whitefield, *Works*, III, 430.

[3]*Journal of Francis Asbury*, July 2, 1773.

[4]*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, II, 267-274.

[5]Belcher, *Biography of Whitefield*, 458.

V. MISS BOSANQUET'S SCHOOL

The institutional philanthropy of the early Methodists was not confined to the labors of its great leaders. Many humble charity schools in the smaller towns and villages must have owed their origin and existence to the practical piety of the Methodists. For most of them the record has not been preserved. Of one notable instance, however, we have a full account. In early Methodism no woman's name was more well known and highly appreciated than that of Mary Bosanquet, who became the wife of John Fletcher, the Vicar of Madeley. In 1763, while living with Methodist friends in London, she became convinced of her responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the village of Leytonstone, where she had been born and from which she derived her independent income. Obtaining her father's consent, she and Sarah Ryan, one of her friends, moved into one of her houses which was vacant. Here a Methodist society was gradually started, of which she naturally became the leader, and continued in spite of some persecution.

For a long time "some drawings towards the care of children had dwelt" on Miss Bosanquet's mind, and at last she and her friend, with the aid of one servant, took in six destitute orphans, to be educated and maintained. As time went on, the little family increased in numbers and additional servants and helpers were needed. For economy's sake, as well as "to avoid conformity to the world," a uniform dress of dark purple cotton was adopted by all the residents. When the children came they were usually "naked, full of vermin, and some afflicted with distempers," and the first undertaking was to "clean and clothe them and take care of their health." They were then gradually led to observe the rules of the house and to realize the love which cared for them. The instruction of the children was carried on in a school which met for four hours in the forenoon and three in the afternoon. The rest of the time was spent in the garden and in employment of various kinds, the older girls helping in the housework. The religious development of the children was,

of course, the central concern. In her autobiography Miss Bosanquet wrote:

"We continually impressed on the minds of the children that the only way to be happy was to be like God; to love what he loved, and to hate what he hated; but that was not their present state. They were now like the devil, and loved what he loved. If they were injured, they loved to revenge and could hardly forget the offense any one offered them. . . . We therefore declared that whenever we saw these marks of the devil's power on their hearts we would tell them of it; but, if they would still obey him rather than God, we would then add unto our own words correction; making them feel pain, that the impression might be strong and more lasting; and that they must never resent or resist those corrections, for it was more painful for us to give than it could be for them to receive them. . . . Nor were these observations altogether without fruit; for I do not remember one child I ever had, that if we ordered her to receive correction by the rod (which was not often), would not lie down in silence as a lamb, and afterward, yea, immediately after, come and kiss us. . . . From the above hints, various occasions presented to point out the nature of salvation through Christ alone, and the necessity of a renewed nature, in order to be capable of the enjoyment of heaven."

Such were the methods of religious education in a school which John Wesley regarded as "one truly Christian family," and always mentioned with high approbation.[1]

One of Miss Bosanquet's most difficult problems was, of course, that of finance. At first, though her own income was not sufficient, she had considerable capital upon which she was obliged to draw. The necessary repair and enlargement of the house and the numerous sick and visitors who were often cared for made too heavy draughts upon her stock. As a result she followed the example of Professor Francke in Germany and set up a "poor's box." By this means and through the knowledge

[1]For Wesley's references to Leytonstone and Cross Hall see *Journal*, Dec. 2, 1764; Dec. 12, 13, 1765; Oct. 31, 1766; Feb. 12, Nov. 20, 1767; July 7, 1770; Mar. 3, 1774; July 27, 1775; Sept. 4, 1778; April 11, 1780.

which her relatives and friends had of her work, many contributions were made. One of the largest of these was of two hundred and fifty guineas from an uncle. Miss Lewen, who had aided Wesley and who placed two children in the school, made a codicil to her will, leaving Miss Bosanquet £2,000. The latter, however, feared that her relation to it might be misjudged and "God's cause" might be "reproached," since Miss Lewen was living with her at the time, and so persuaded her to let the codicil be burned. The school,—school, orphanage, widow's home, hospital, and preaching place, as it was, all in one,—remained in Leytonstone for five years. During this time thirty-five children and thirty-four grown persons were received, though not all at one time. Of the grown persons many were invalids and there was much sickness among the children at first, "for we did not refuse either old or young on account of being either sick or helpless." In 1768 it seemed wise to move away from Leytonstone. There was little land attached to the house, which was now too small, and the training of the children in useful trades was very difficult. Though her private income had increased, Miss Bosanquet found the amount received from the poor-box falling off, and the death of Miss Lewen had left entirely on the former's shoulders some charitable interests which they had shared. Yorkshire was the place selected, and after some delay the family was established on a farm there known as Cross Hall.[1] Here the expenses were also large and, in spite of putting the older children to trades or servants' places, the family contained as many as twenty-five persons. Her farm manager proved unsuc-

[1]Memories of Miss Bosanquet remained long in this region, as the account of an old Yorkshireman shows. "I knew Miss Bosanquet varry weel when I were a lad. I've heerd mi father tell a shoo com thro London, where shoo hed a brother at wer a parliament man; an as luck wod hev it, shoo wer convarted under owd Wesley, and then shoo com doon thro London and belt Cross Hall, and browt a wegganload o young wimmin, all orphans, and shoo kept em wol they gate up to be owd enef ta keep theresens. Shoo led class-meetings, and preycht tu, an a rare gooid preycher shoo wor. I remember shoo gate wed tull a gentleman o't name o Fletcher, a Swede [Swiss], as they went to live at Gildersome, where I think they both deed." Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, VIII, 29 note.

cessful and the losses continued to grow more serious. For fourteen years Miss Bosanquet struggled on, striving in every way to reduce the debt. Finally, in 1781, she was able to sell the farm and to provide in different places for the care of those of the family who still remained, although the burden of debt was not entirely cleared away till 1787. Shortly after the farm was sold she was married to Mr. Fletcher, and the history of the school was ended.[1]

VI. METHODIST INSTITUTIONS IN IRELAND

The Irish Methodists were not at all behind their English brethren in promoting philanthropic work. The formation of the Strangers' Friend Society in Dublin and of the Association of Friends of the Sick Poor at Waterford have already been noticed. Some time before these were started several charitable institutions had appeared. In 1766 a house near the Whitefriars Street Chapel in Dublin was leased and transformed into a poorhouse, similar to that at the Foundery, for indigent widows over sixty years of age.[2] In 1771, when Mr. Wesley was in Dublin, the family consisted of "four or five-and-twenty that are widows indeed; all poor enough, several sick or infirm, three bedrid, one on the brink of eternity," and in 1789 the number was the same.[3] The management of this "Widow's House" was vested in the Dublin preachers and seven trustees. It is still continuing its work in another part of the city.[4] In 1784 the

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[1]The account above has been drawn from Mrs. Fletcher's narrative in Moore, *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher,* Parts II, III, IV. A description of the work, written by Miss Bosanquet, was also published by Wesley in 1764 under the title, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, by a Gentlewoman,* London, 1764, 23 pp. This was also included in Wesley's published *Works,* Vol. XIII, in 1772. Green, *Bibliography,* pp. 128, 164. "It is exactly *Pietas Hallensis* in miniature"; *Journal,* December 2, 1764. See also *New Hist. Meth.,* I, 320, 322.

[2]Crookshank, *Hist. of Meth. in Ireland,* I, 188.

[3]*Journal,* April 6, 1771; April 8, 1789. In July, 1785, he recommended that "that excellent Woman, Sister Cox," be admitted to the Widow's House "when there is room." Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* VIII, 20.

[4]Crookshank, *op. cit.,* I, 188, 313; *New Hist. Meth.,* II, 30.

first free school for boys was begun in connection with the Whitefriars Street Chapel with forty pupils.[1] It was not until a score of years later that the Methodist day schools promoted by Dr. Adam Clarke rendered their large service to many country districts.[2] A more extended work was done by the Methodist Sunday Schools in Ireland.

VII. METHODISM AND THE SUNDAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

As an organized movement the establishment and promotion of Sunday Schools did not begin until 1780, but several local ventures had been started much earlier. Catechetical instruction of children had ever been part of the practice of the Christian Church. Both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation had laid particular stress on education. The importance of the religious training of children was emphasized by many of the leaders, and extensive work was carried on both in England and the Continent. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the strength of the catechetical schools diminished because of a shifting from the method of recitation to that of exhortation and lecture; but new schools in which the more effective method of instruction was practiced begin to appear in the latter half of the seventeenth century. These were more specifically Sunday Schools, as that day was regularly used for their purposes. One of the earliest of these was that founded by Joseph Alleine in 1660 in Bath, England. Several others arose in America during the next hundred years. After 1760 they began to appear more frequently.[3]

It has sometimes been said that Wesley started Sunday Schools in Savannah.[4] This is true only in so far as the school which Delamotte taught can be called a Sunday School. There

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[1]Crookshank, *op. cit.*, I, 390.

[2]*New Hist. Meth.*, II, 32.

[3]For a list of the more important schools known see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, Vol. XI, 153.

[4]J. C. Power, *Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, 22; J. F. Bingham, *Brief History of Sunday Schools*, 12-13.

is, however, no evidence that the school met solely or chiefly on Sunday, but quite the reverse. Wesley also carried on catechetical instruction of the children and his other parishioners on Sunday afternoons, but this does not appear to have taken the form of an organized school.[1] The earliest Sunday School, in the strict sense of the term, which was started under Methodist auspices, was that of Miss Hannah Ball at High Wycombe. This was begun by Miss Ball in 1769 and continued for many years. Its detailed history is not known. In December, 1770, she wrote to Mr. Wesley: "The children meet twice a week, every Sunday and Monday. They are a wild little company, but seem willing to be instructed. I labour among them, earnestly desiring to promote the interest of the church of Christ." Miss Ball, apparently, did all the teaching herself.[2]

In the same year in which Miss Ball opened her school at High Wycombe, Samuel Bates undertook the religious instruction of the children in Charlemont, Ireland. It seems likely that he met the children on Sunday, as he worked at his trade during the week, usually preaching in the evenings.[3] The second school was started at Bright, in County Down, as a result of the Revival. Its organizer was the incumbent of the parish, Dr. Kennedy, who began it as a singing school, meeting on Sundays to practice psalmody. By 1778 it had developed into a Sunday School, holding its session for an hour and a half before the morning service and studying the psalms and lessons for the day. The school included children from other denominations, as was frequently the case with the early Sunday Schools.[4]

The Sunday School movement as such owed its start to Robert Raikes, the proprietor and editor of the *Gloucester Journal*, who in 1780 with Rev. Thomas Stock, head-master of the Gloucester Cathedral school, set up a Sunday School of about

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[1]Diary, Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 1736; Feb. 20, Mar. 13, 27, May 8, 29, June 5, 1737.

[2]*Memoirs of Miss Hannah Ball*, 71 note, 84, 121.

[3]Crookshank, *Hist. Meth. in Ireland*, I, 230.

[4]Crookshank, *op. cit.*, I, 302.

ninety children. The care of the children was given to four women who were hired at a shilling a Sunday to instruct their charges in reading and in the Church catechism. "The children," wrote Raikes, "were to come soon after ten in the morning, and stay till twelve: they were then to go home and return at one; and after reading a lesson they were to be conducted to church. After church they were to be employed in repeating the Catechism till half after five, and then to be dismissed, with an injunction to go home without making a noise; and by no means to play in the streets."[1] Clean hands, clean faces, and combed hair were required. Other individuals started similar schools very soon, among them Miss Sophia Cooke, a Methodist young lady, who gathered together on Sunday some of the children employed in her uncle's pin factory and, after instructing them, took them to Mr. Stock's church for the service. There is a tradition that on the first Sunday on which Raikes led the children to church Miss Cooke marched with him at the head of the troop.[2] The success of the work in Gloucester drew many inquiries concerning the institution and its methods, and these Raikes answered through his newspaper. The accounts thus published were copied by other journals and the wide publicity gained aroused many charitably disposed people to start Sunday Schools all over England. In the *Arminian Magazine* for 1785 Wesley published "An Account of the Sunday-Charity Schools, lately begun in various Parts of England," written by Raikes himself. In the same year the chief promoting organization was formed in London with the title "Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain."

The first reference to Sunday Schools by Mr. Wesley occurs in his Journal for July 18, 1784. Here at Bingley the veteran evangelist found a school of two hundred and forty children and several teachers, superintended by the curate. "So," he wrote, "many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and

[1]Raikes's "Account," dated June 5, 1784, *Arminian Mag.*, 1785, 41.

[2]Gregory, *Robert Raikes*, 73-74; Tyerman, *Wesley*, III, 415; *New Hist. Meth.*, I, 367.

taught a little good manners, at least, as well as to read the Bible. I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have some deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" The school at Bolton was a particular pleasure to him because of the fine singing of the children. When he was there in 1786, "such an army of them," he wrote, "got about me when I came out of the chapel, that I could scarcely disengage myself from them."[1] A year later he found that they had increased from five hundred and fifty to eight hundred, eighty masters being in charge, "who receive no pay but what they are to receive from their Great Master."[2] About a hundred of the boys and girls had been especially trained in singing. In the evening he invited forty or fifty of them to come into the house where he was staying and to sing. "The harmony was such as I believe could not be equalled in the King's Chapel." And the next year it was even better. "The spirit with which they all sing, and the beauty of many of them, so suits the melody that I defy any to exceed it; except the singing of angels in our Father's house."[3] By this time the numbers had increased to nine hundred or a thousand. "I never saw such a sight before," wrote Wesley.

"They were all exactly clean, as well as plain in their apparel. All were serious and well behaved. Many, both boys and girls, had as beautiful faces as, I believe, England or Europe can afford. . . What is best of all, many of them truly fear God, and some rejoice in His salvation. These are a pattern to all the town. Their usual

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[1] *Journal,* April 16, 1786.

[2] As has been noted before, the practice of paying the teachers was general in the beginning of the movement and led to heavy expense. The Sunday School Society spent in this way over £4,000 between 1786 and 1800. *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1846, 564 note. The general adoption of voluntary teachers seems to be largely to the credit of the Methodists. Horace Mann, *Education in Great Britain* (Official Report, Census of Great Britain, 1851), London, 1854.

[3] *Journal,* July 27, 1787; April 19, 1788.

diversion is to visit the poor that are sick (sometimes six, eight, or ten together), to exhort, comfort, and pray with them."[1]

One of the last entries in the Journal records the favor with which the Methodists at Lynn are regarded by their fellow-citizens, "who give a fair proof by contributing so much to our Sunday Schools; so that there is near twenty pounds in hand.[2]

It may seem peculiar that Wesley, who was always so quick to recognize the value and the possibilities of such institutions, should have taken so little active part in the promotion of Sunday Schools. But it must be remembered that he was over eighty years of age at the time when Robert Raikes began his work and that the demands upon the venerable preacher from the now large and flourishing Methodist organization kept him much busier than most men are in the prime of life. It was for others to initiate new and untried enterprises, and there were others at hand to do it. He was, however, none the less interested and gave his hearty approval to those who carried the work forward. He preached charity sermons in behalf of the Sunday Schools, once at Wigan, whither "the people flocked from all quarters in a manner never seen before," and again in Monkwearmouth church, where the Sunday School had "already cleared the streets of all children that used to play there on a Sunday from morning to evening."[3] No doubt he rendered the cause similar service on other occasions.

One of the places in which Sunday Schools were established by the Methodists very soon after the beginning of the general movement was the city of Chester. Here in 1782 three schools were started, at Handbridge, at Commonhall Lane, and at the Octagon Chapel in Foregate Street. Of the first two schools little is known. The third was accustomed to hold its sessions from nine o'clock till Church hours, when the pupils were taken to service at the Church of St. John the Baptist. It is possible that an afternoon session was also held. It appears probable

1 *Journal*, April 20, 1788.

2 *Journal*, Oct. 19, 1790.

3 *Journal*, April 18, 1788; June 13, 1790.

that these schools did not owe their origin to the general movement, but sprang up independently and did not at first use the title "Sunday School." In 1786, however, a more extensive work was begun under the leadership of Richard Rodda, then on the Chester circuit. The committee which was formed to carry out the project drew up rules and submitted them to Dr. Bielby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, who expressed his approval. The school was opened early in January, 1787, and soon had nearly seven hundred pupils. Mr. Wesley sent a hearty word of commendation to Rodda. "I am glad you have taken in hand that blessed work of setting up Sunday Schools in Chester. It seems that these will be one great means of reviving religion throughout the nation."[1] As a result of a charity sermon by the Bishop another committee was formed which, much to the regret of the Methodists, failed to cooperate with them. This unfortunate circumstance was perhaps due to the false assumption that the earlier school was a proselyting scheme of the Methodists.[2] The school, however, continued with great success. The method of conducting the school was so inexpensive,—for the teachers gave their services,—that £20 a year was estimated enough to provide for a thousand children.[3] Rodda also started in Burslem in 1796 or 1797 a Sunday School which in 1798 had nearly seven hundred pupils.[4]

Another of the Methodists who promoted Sunday Schools was the Rev. John Fletcher, the Vicar of Madeley, who married Miss Bosanquet. In 1783 he put forward proposals in his parish for six Sunday Schools "for such children as are employed all the week, and for those whose education has been neglected."

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[1]Letter of Jan. 17, 1787, quoted in *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1846, 562-563.

[2]The schools which Mrs. Hannah More promoted were also attacked because many of the teachers were Methodists. See *Candid Observations on Mrs. H. More's Schools: in which is considered their supposed connection with Methodism. . . . By the Rev. — — ,* Bath, 1802.

[3]For the documents of the early history of this school see *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1846, 562 f.; and esp. F. F. Bretherton, *Early Methodism in and around Chester*, 225-242.

[4]*Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1846, 563 note.

Three of the schools were to be for boys and three for girls, one of each at Coalbrookdale, Madeley, and Madeley Wood. The children were to be taught to read and write and to be "instructed in the principles of morality and piety." A fund of £20 was to be used to pay the six teachers a shilling a week and to provide tables and benches, books and writing materials. The response from the parish was hearty and immediate. "Three hundred children were soon gathered whom he took every opportunity of instructing, by regular meetings for some time before the schools were opened; and these meetings he attended to the very last Thursday before his fatal illness. He gave the children little hymn-books, and pointed them to some friend or neighbor who would teach them the hymns, and instruct them to sing." The elders of the parish also supported the enterprise by their subscriptions, enough being raised at Coalbrookdale to erect a schoolhouse, in addition to meeting the other expenses. It is interesting to note that the last literary work which Fletcher did was the preparation of a catechism, prayers to be used by the children, and "Hints" to the teachers of the schools.[1]

The general Sunday School movement also stimulated the work which had been begun in Ireland. In 1785 Dr. Kennedy modified his school at Bright to conform to the more comprehensive and systematic program set forth by the Sunday School Society and opened the reorganized school in May, 1786.[2] In the same year Sunday Schools were started in Dublin probably with Methodist cooperation, but apparently not under Methodist leadership. Three years later schools appear at Bluestone and Derryscollop. In 1794 the Irish Methodist Conference encouraged the extension of the Sunday School movement with the direction: "Let Sunday Schools be established, as far as possible, in all the towns in this kingdom where we have Societies.[3]

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[1]Mrs. Mary Fletcher, *A Letter to Mons. H. L. de la Flechere, on the Death of his Brother, the Rev. John Fletcher,* 1786, cited in Tyerman, *Fletcher,* 526-528.

[2]Crookshank, *Wes. Meth. in Ireland,* I, 302-303.

[3]*Irish Minutes,* 1794, p. 9; Crookshank, *op. cit.,* II, 77.

More active measures were taken in 1809 in the formation of the Hibernian Sunday School Society, in which the Methodists had a large share.[1]

One of the largest of the early Methodist Sunday Schools and the first established in the north of England was that at Newcastle, which was started by Rev. Charles Atmore early in 1790. The suggestion may have come to him from the instruction which a few children at the neighboring village of Byker received every Sunday through the efforts of Mr. Johnson, a colliery owner and a supporter of the Methodists. It was held in the Orphan House which Mr. Wesley had built. On the first Sunday nearly three hundred and fifty children were enrolled and a week later about five hundred children appeared. A month after it was begun eight hundred children were being taught in thirty-two classes. As in Chester, some objection was made to the school on the ground that the plan was to make all the children Methodists. To set this aside, Atmore read to the children the service of the Established Church. The support of the school came from special collections at an annual charity-sermon and from private subscriptions. Here, as in many of the Methodist schools, the teachers volunteered their services, "seeking," as Mr. Wesley said, "a reward that man cannot give."[2] Of this school also Mr. Wesley expressed his approval, writing Atmore in March, 1790, "I am glad you have set up Sunday Schools in Newcastle. It is one of the noblest institutions which has been seen in Europe for some centuries, and will increase more and more, provided the Teachers and inspectors do their duties."[3]

In London several schools were started in the early nineties and in 1798 a Methodist Sunday School Society was formed

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[1] *New Hist. Meth.*, II, 25-26.

[2] *Journal*, June 8, 1790. He preached to six or seven hundred of the children in the evening. On May 7, he had preached to the children a sermon composed of words of not more than two syllables; Atmore's diary, cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1845, 120.

[3] Letter, Mar. 24, 1790, cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1845, 118 note. Stamp, *Orphan House*, 148-151.

there for the promotion of the work. In 1799 the number of children under its care was six hundred and thirteen. By 1805 it had increased to two thousand two hundred in four schools.[1] The conduct of these and of other Sunday Schools during the first twenty or thirty years of their establishment seems to have been independent of denominational control and in many cases they appeared to be quite non-sectarian. It was not until 1827 that the Methodist Conference did more than advise the schools. In that year the Conference issued rules for the management of schools to be established. It was as late as 1837 when the English Conference started the effort to form Sunday Schools at every chapel, although the Irish Conference had urged it in its own territory more than forty years before.[2]

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[1]For particulars see Thomas Marriott's article, *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1846, 565-567; Myles, *Chronological History*, 167; Telford, *Two West-End Chapels*, 241; Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 153.

[2]*New Hist. Meth.*, I, 415-416.

CHAPTER V

The Place and Significance of Early Methodist Philanthropy

In the preceding chapters the effort has been made to describe the most important charitable aspects of the early Methodist movement. It remains in this final chapter to endeavor to estimate the place and significance of this philanthropy in the Revival itself and in the history of eighteenth century benevolence.

Our first question concerns the place of philanthropy in the Revival itself. How important was it to the movement as a whole and what part did it play among the factors of the Revival? We have already seen how closely knit together were the religious and the philanthropic interests of the little group of young Oxford collegians and how strong was the impression of that early experience upon the leader of the Revival. We have also noted the change which Mr. Wesley's conversion produced in the basis of his philanthropic interest. The feeling that each charitable deed brought to the person who performed it a firmer assurance of future bliss could not remain. No longer, in his belief, was salvation by works, but by faith. Without this doctrine, which had been at the heart both of Pauline Christianity and of the Reformation, there would, indeed, have been no Revival. It was due also to the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys and of their Methodist and Evangelical associates that this doctrine and its consequences for the theory of philanthropy became current throughout England.[1] But that this issued, within Methodist circles, at least, in fervent and widespread practical charities, rather than in the diminution and discounting of such efforts,

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[1]McGiffert, *Prot. Thought before Kant,* 163.

was the result of something more effective than the freeing of philanthropic motives from the taint of selfishness. More than to any other one factor it was due to John Wesley's constant insistence by word and by deed that faith could not exist without giving evidence of its existence in works. It was of the very nature of a Christian, as he conceived it, continually to "do good to all men." And it may truly be said that his own emphasis on practical philanthropy would never have been so strong and persistent, had it not been for his early experience with the prisoners, the children, and the poor in his Oxford days. It was just this emphasis on the actual service of one's fellowmen that saved the Revival from being self-centered and unsocial. It was not enough for the Methodists that a man should have the experience of the new birth and an assurance of salvation from his sins. If he were to be true to the genius of the movement, he must inevitably gain from this experience the firm conviction that his first duty was to carry to the unfortunate and the oppressed the message of new hope and the ministry of sympathetic aid. The principle which underlay the philanthropy of the Holy Club was reiterated a thousand-fold in the philanthropy of the Revival: "Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, 'who went about doing good'?"

To be sure, the Methodists were not the only religious group that had such ideals and such practices. The Society of Friends had always had an honorable reputation for work in behalf of the needy and was one of the earliest organizations to protest against slavery. Other dissenting bodies had supported charities of various kinds and many of the leaders in more general philanthropic societies were prominent Dissenters. But the outgoing philanthropy of the Methodists was marked by an enthusiasm and a missionary zeal that neither the Establishment nor the Nonconformist churches showed.[1] Moreover Methodist philanthropy

[1]It is difficult to estimate the charitable work of the various religious bodies in England, since this is a side of ecclesiastical history which church historians very largely neglect and no satisfactory study of English philanthropy in the eighteenth century, except that of the State, has yet been made.

reached further out and deeper down than most of the current benevolence. It was from the start in actual contact with conditions of need. Its charity indeed began at home. Its visitors and workers, coming, as they largely did, from the humbler classes, knew the life of those whom they sought to aid, as no others could know it. This very contact with the unfortunate on the part of their benefactors was greatly needed in the charity of the time. The handing out of poor-relief and the administration of charitable foundations never assured that personal touch between the giver and the recipient which is so important to the effectiveness of the one and to the upbuilding of the other. "How much better is it," wrote Mr. Wesley out of his own experience, "to *carry* relief to the poor than to *send* it! and that both for our own sake and theirs. For *theirs,* as it is so much more comfortable to them, and as we may then assist them in spirituals as well as temporals; and for *our own,* as it is far more apt to soften our heart, and to make us naturally care for each other."[1] So persistent was Mr. Wesley's practice of this principle that Dr. Samuel Johnson once complained: "I hate to meet John Wesley. The dog enchants you with his conversation, and then breaks away to go and visit some old woman."[2] No other religious group gave itself so unreservedly to assisting "in spirituals as well as temporals" those who most needed it, as did that of which Mr. Wesley was the leader. It was the Revival that taught Nonconformity that it had a world to redeem and it was the Revival that broke the lethargy of the Church of England and started the Evangelical party on the road to even more splendid philanthropic achievements.

This very intimacy between those who were in need and those who gave was of incalculable value from another point of view. It not only made more effectual the aid which was ren-

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Considerable research in many directions would be a necessary preliminary to such a study. For the Dissenters, see Clark, *Hist. of Eng. Nonconformity,* 224, 255, 260, 320, 347.

[1] *Journal,* Nov. 24, 1760.

[2] Fitchett, *Wesley and His Century,* 448.

dered, but it reacted upon the life and conduct of the entire group in producing something more permanent than temporary relief. This early Methodist philanthropy was not the bending down of those on one economic level to bring succor to those on another below. It was the training of a whole class of society to realize its power to help its own weaker members without dependence upon the upper classes. Even more important because reaching more directly the causes of poverty was the reflex action of this philanthropy upon the habits of living within that class. Mr. Wesley laid great emphasis upon thrift as a Christian duty in the "rules" of the societies, in his preaching and through his personal influence. Apart from this, however, the philanthropy furnished a motive for thrift that gave it additional impetus and freed it from the possibilities of selfishness. The injunction was not only to "gain all you can" and "save all you can," but also to "give all you can." The Christian stewardship of the gifts of God which Mr. Wesley constantly set before the societies established a high standard for the use of money. Too often an increased income obtained by thrift and industry has developed parsimony or selfish extravagance, especially among those whose limited fortune necessarily involves limited experience in its use. This was one of the dangers which faced the Methodist group and philanthropy furnished both the means and the motive for overcoming it.[1] Thus, not only because of their charity, but because of a mixture of influences of which it was an important part, the Methodists gave new ideals to the classes among whom they lived and helped to raise the whole of their life to a higher level.

Yet it must always be remembered that the Revival was primarily a religious movement. However large may have been the social factors which conditioned its spread and however far-reaching its social consequences, the religious element was the center. "By religion, I mean," said Mr. Wesley, "the love of

[1] See Mr. Wesley's sermons, "The Use of Money," "The Good Steward," "The Danger of Riches," "On Dress," "The More Excellent Way," "On Riches," "On the Danger of Increasing Riches," *Works,* I, 440, 448, II, 248, 258, 266, 396, 486.

God and man, filling the heart and governing the life. The sure effect of this is the uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth. This is the very essence of it; the height and depth of religion."[1] The point of attack of the Methodist preachers was something more vital than the inability of the pauper to regain his independence or of the debtor to keep out of Newgate. It was to the saving of sinners not simply from the consequences of their sin but from the sin itself that all their energies were directed. For this moral reversal no human aid could suffice. Not until in repentance and faith the sinner turned to the Almighty Father and to the revelation of His atoning love in Jesus Christ could there be any possibility of his salvation. Under the preaching of the Methodists through the years thousands upon thousands took this step and sought and found the dynamic experience of a life of renewed ethical power. But the characteristic work of one so saved was that he did not stop with his own salvation, but endeavored to bring others to the same state. The words of the "serious man" whom Mr. Wesley met in his youth he never forgot: "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember you cannot serve Him alone. You must therefore find companions or make them. The Bible knows nothing of solitary religion."[2] The movement was missionary from the start and it was from just this atmosphere of spiritual energy that the philanthropy of the Revival gained its fervent, persistent quality. In this atmosphere also benevolent motives were multiplied. Charity in all its forms was not only a duty enjoined by the moral law; it was a means of drawing near to those who needed aid in "spirituals as well as temporals," of expressing gratitude to God, of following the leadership of Him "who went about doing good." It was a part of "one capital branch of our religion, the love of our neighbor."[3]

The place of Methodist benevolence in the history of

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[1] Sermon, "On Former Times," *Works*, II, 360.

[2] *The Heart of John Wesley's Journal*, New York, n. d., p. xix.

[3] *Works, loc. cit.*

eighteenth century philanthropy is difficult to determine, since few studies of the period from that point of view have yet been written. The closing years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth had been marked by the rise of charitable foundations and extended organizations for educational and religious work among the poor. The society known as "The Sons of the Clergy," established "for the Reliefe of the poore Widdowes and Children of Clergymen," had received its charter in 1678, though it had been in existence more than a score of years previously.[1] The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was started in 1698 and carried on very extensive work in England. In addition to the constant printing and distributing of "Cautions," "Serious Advices," and "Perswasives" to offenders of every sort, and innumerable tracts on many subjects, this organization was the chief agency for promoting charity schools. In 1704 there were fifty-four of these schools within a ten-mile radius of London and Westminster, giving to more than two thousand children instruction in reading, writing, and casting accounts and in the religious principles set forth in the Church Catechism. In many of the schools the pupils were taught trades and bound out as apprentices at the end of their term. It was also generally the custom to provide clothing for a large number of the children. By 1745 there were 126 charity schools in the metropolitan district with 5,475 pupils. The total of "children put to apprenticeships and Services, or taken out by Friends" was 25,382. The work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was further advanced through its correspondents who were scattered throughout the kingdom. The latter reported to the Society in 1745 that there were in England and Wales more than thirteen hundred schools and over twenty-three thousand pupils.[2] A branch of the Society's work

[1] E. H. Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy, 1655 to 1904*, London, 1904.

[2] McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History, 1698-1704, passim;* Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K., 1698-1898*, Chap. IV; *An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1745, 59; Graves, *History of Education in Modern Times*, Chap. III.

was also the "fixing of Parochial Libraries throughout the plantations, especially on the Continent of North America." This was later carried on by the "Associates of the late Dr. Bray" and from it developed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[1] In addition to these larger organizations many smaller societies with differing activities appear. The charitable features of the Religious Societies have already been noted.[2] Other private societies for definitely benevolent purposes, such as The Society for Relieving Distressed Housekeepers, The "Charitable Society" in London, the Scots Corporations, the Herefordshire Society, the English Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland, are to be recorded.[3] A rapidly increasing number of hospitals were also founded in this period. Some of these were general hospitals; others were for special treatment, such as lock hospitals, fever hospitals, and lying-in hospitals. No listing of institutions, however, and no recounting of the various forms of charity can ever make clear the nature and extent of the efforts which were made to ameliorate by benevolence social conditions that required more radical remedies. Yet more credit than is customary should surely be given to this aspect of the England of Anne and the Georges. "While luxury and profaneness have been increasing on one hand," said Mr. Wesley in a sermon preached near the end of his life, "on the other, benevolence and compassion towards all the forms of human woe have increased in a manner not known before, from the earliest ages of the world. In proof of this we see more hospitals, infirmaries, and other places of public charity have been erected, at least in or near London, within this century, than in five hundred years before."[4]

Two questions may be asked concerning the contribution

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[1] *Classified Digest of the Records of the S. P. G., 1701-1892.* Chap. I.

[2] See p. 26.

[3] For an account of these and some similar organizations see Portus, *Caritas Anglicana,* Chap. VI.

[4] "On Former Times," *Works,* II, 362.

which the philanthropy of the Methodists made to this situation. What new forms of benevolence and aid did it add to those already in existence? What was the volume of the Methodist charity and how effective was it? The contribution of new forms and methods was certainly not large. Schools, orphanages, homes for the aged and infirm, were already in existence. The scheme of the lending fund, which was so successful for many years, was not new. It is to be noted, however, that those in existence did not seek to meet the same need that Mr. Wesley reached. They required a much larger security than the poor could possibly obtain. Those of which the record remains were formed primarily to aid small shop-keepers and usually exacted a low rate of interest. They were in no sense substitutes for the pawnshop.[1] It is possible that the free dispensary which Mr. Wesley carried on in London was the first to be started there. Whether it gave rise to those of a slightly later date which were more effective is not known. The form of benevolence, however, in which the Methodists made their most important and permanent contribution to English philanthropic institutions was the visiting society. To be sure, the visiting of the poor, the prisoners, and the afflicted was ages old. To go no further back, the charity of monasticism constantly took this form and some of the orders were, indeed, visiting societies. But England had deprived herself of the ministry of the monks, the nuns, and the friars long years before, and until the Revival no widespread substitute had appeared. As we have seen, visiting societies had started before the Methodists made use of them, but the extensive sick visiting which had been done within the Methodist organization made its members the more ready and the better prepared to take up the independent societies. It was under their auspices

[1]Arneway's Loan Trust (founded in 1603), amount of loan, £50-£200, interest charge three per cent.; Skinner's Company, Atwell's Loans Trust (founded 1588), not over £200, only to young men already in business for themselves, no interest; Wilson's Trust (founded 1766), amount £100-£300, only to young men already in business, interest charge two per cent. The conditions of the borrowing here given are those at present in force. *Annual Charities Register and Digest*, 1903, 364-365.

and due chiefly to their labors that the Strangers' Friend Societies were started in so many localities and did so widespread a work.

The volume and effectiveness of the early Methodist philanthropy are rather more difficult to estimate. The homes for the aged were scarcely more than an incident. The schools also were few in number,—at Bristol and Kingswood, in London, at Leytonstone, in Dublin, and doubtless some others. These could hardly be regarded as having a very large educational output or profound influence on the educational situation. The charge has sometimes been made that the teaching was narrow and unproductive, but with the exception of the school for preachers' boys at Kingswood little can be said concerning their methods or efficiency. Silas Told, whom Mr. Wesley described as "a man of good understanding, although not much indebted to education," could hardly have been an ideal schoolmaster.[1] Moreover, the nature of childhood was so misunderstood that one of the aims of the religious instruction was the production in the pupils of an adult type of conversion. But with all this admitted, the crude character of the educational method was probably no worse than that of most of the schools of the time, and Mr. Wesley's standards were certainly above the usual level. This criticism of the Methodist charity schools, however, should not be construed to indicate that the educational influence of the Revival was slight. Again it was the Holy Club that struck the keynote. "Whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians? Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars?" Although the movement was not without its men of learning, from Adam Clarke, LL. D., F. A. S., to the collier who studied Greek that he might read the New Testament in the original, scholarship as such was, indeed, far from most of the Methodists. On the other hand, numbers of men and women who could not even read were forced to learn, in order to use the Bible. Mr. Wesley was constant in his demands that his preachers read and study. He himself wrote text books and prepared many

[1] *Life of Told,* preface.

abridgements of useful authors. One of his greatest services was the publication of books at a price which put them within the reach of the poor and uneducated, and every preacher was a distributor of tracts and pamphlets. But the analysis and appraisal of this side of the Revival's work must be left to another study.[1]

In one of the earlier chapters attention was directed to the relief afforded to the needy by the poor funds of some of the societies and by the special collections in emergencies. The actual extent of this relief it is, of course, impossible to measure. We have no social "surveys" of Georgian London and the work of other organizations is yet to be studied. When we remember the financial status of the Methodists as a whole, the liberality of their giving is highly creditable, but its permanent significance lies rather in its expression of the spirit of those who sought to aid their fellowmen by every means in their power than in the comparative volume of the relief administered.

It may not be amiss here to note the charitable habits of some individual Methodists. Let us begin with Mr. Wesley himself, whose example so stimulated his followers. It was at Oxford that his practice of charity began. "In 1730," he wrote in his Journal, "I began visiting the prisons; assisting the poor and sick in town; and doing what other good I could, by my presence or my little fortune, to the bodies and souls of all men. To this end I abridged myself of all superfluities, and many that are called necessaries of life."[2] The principle which he applied in his benevolence was first to pay his needed expenses and then to give away from his income all that remained. This was the practice of

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[1]For criticisms and estimates of the educational aspect of the Revival, see Clapham, *How Far Methodism Conduces to the Welfare of Christianity*, 1794, cited in *British Critic*, VI, 43; *Strictures on Methodism by a Careful Observer*, London, 1804; Lecky, *Hist. of Eng. in the XVIII Century*, II, 665; Hall, *Social Meaning*, 59-71.

[2]*Journal*, May 25, 1738; I, 467-468. One of his economies was wearing his hair long. Cf. Moore, *Wesley*, I, 152 note; undated letter to Samuel Wesley, *Works*, VI, 597.

all the members of the Holy Club. "One of them," said Mr. Wesley, and he was speaking of himself, "had thirty pounds a year. He lived on twenty-eight and gave away forty shillings. The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight and gave away two-and-thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received a hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived as before on twenty-eight, and gave to the poor ninety-two."[1] This was his custom throughout all his life. No matter how large the income from the sale of his books and pamphlets and no matter how considerable the gifts made to him by his wealthy friends, he gave away all but a very small amount. His salary, which was paid by the London Society, was £60 a year and he sometimes had to wait for the payment of that. "You do not consider," he wrote to his sister Patty, "money never stays with *me:* it would burn me if it did. I throw it out of my hands as soon as possible lest it should find a way into my heart."[2] Henry Moore, with Mr. Wesley's account books before him, in which every expenditure was carefully recorded, estimated that he gave away in fifty years considerably more than £30,000.[3] At the end of his last

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[1]Sermon, "The More Excellent Way," *Works,* II, 273.

[2]Letter of Oct. 6, 1768, cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1845, 1168.

[3]Moore, *Wesley,* II, 362. The accounts show that Mr. Wesley or his Book Steward by his orders gave away in 1782, £593 13s.; in 1783, £832 1s. 6d.; in 1784, £534 17s. 6d.; in 1785, £851 12s.; 1786, £738 5s.; in 1787, including traveling expenses, £961 4s.; in 1788, £738 4s.; in 1789, £766. Tyerman, *Wesley,* III., 615-616. Samuel Bradburn declared that he knew that Mr. Wesley gave away in private charities between the Conferences of 1780 and 1781 more than £1,400. Tyerman, *loc. cit.* Thomas Olivers reported that he heard Mr. Wesley say in 1776, "I have now paid for the paper and printing of the History of England; and I find that I am about £200 in pocket by the sale of that work; but, as life is uncertain, I will take care to dispose of it before the end of the week," which he accordingly did. Olivers, *A Rod for a Reviler,* 1777, 20; cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1845, 1168. In addition to his own charity, Mr. Wesley frequently received large sums to administer for other people, such as Mr. Blackwell and Miss Lewen. For instances of this sort, see Moore, *Wesley,* I, 268; Letters to Mr. Blackwell, *Works,* 689 note, 694, 696; *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1845, 1166-1168.

account book the veteran evangelist summed up in a phrase the philanthropy of his life:

"N. B. For upwards of eighty-six [sixty-six] years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can and give all I can, that is, all I have.

"JOHN WESLEY."[1]

"July 16, 1790."

Though Mr. Wesley was perhaps the outstanding example of liberality among the Methodists, it should not be thought that he stood alone. John Fletcher constantly denied himself almost the very necessities of life that he might minister to the needs of the poor. Mrs. Fletcher practically devoted her entire income to her charitable work, not only in the maintenance of the school at Leytonstone and Cross Hall, but also in relieving distress whenever she heard of it. On balancing the accounts of the last year of Mrs. Fletcher's life, her executrix found that "her whole year's expenditure amounted to nineteen shillings and sixpence; this was every penny that had been laid out on her own person for the whole year. The expense was not always so small, but I believe it *never* amounted to five pounds." The "poor's account," on the other hand, amounted to £181 16s. 1d.[2] The Countess of Huntingdon was well known for her charity, in selling her jewels for the building of chapels, in maintaining countless enterprises in which her sympathies were enlisted by Whitefield and other members of her circle, in doing many unrecorded kindnesses to the orphaned and the needy.[3] William Marriott, a member of the London Society, supplied the needs of hundreds of poor families every winter and for nearly twenty years supported two charity schools with a hundred pupils. This philanthropy was adminis-

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[1]Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, IX, 2; *John Wesley the Methodist*, 289, which gives a photograph of the tremulous handwriting.

[2]Moore, *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher*, 442.

[3]It has not been possible in the present study to deal at length with Calvinistic Methodism and its philanthropy. It was more closely allied in its

tered both through the Methodists and through Dissenters.[1] It should not be imagined, however, that only the wealthier Methodists were to be remembered for their benevolence. Of Jane Muncy, one of the earliest members of the Foundery Society, Mr. Wesley wrote, "many times, when she had been employed in the labor of love till eight or nine in the evenings, she then sat down and wrought with her hands till twelve or one in the mornings; not that she wanted anything herself, but that she might have to give to others for necessary uses."[2] Mary Cheesebrook, who had been a woman of immoral life, after her conversion not only supported herself, but at the end of every week gave away whatever was left above her expenses.[3] If the short and simple annals of the poor appeared in octavo biographies, the really great philanthropists would be found to live in the lanes and alleys and not on the avenues.

It is in just this private service of their fellow men that the charity of the Methodists must have bulked the largest. In comparison with this the work both of the institutions and the organizations must take second place. On the part of the few who were well-to-do, financial aid was the most immediately available form of service. But for most of the Methodists the care of the sick, the visiting of the prisoners and the aged, the timely friendship with the poverty-stricken or the fallen, the personal sacrifice of even meager comforts for the destitute, were the only kind of service possible. An expert administrator of modern scientific charity declares that in the tenement districts of the present time it is probably "the unmeasured but large amount of neighborly assistance" that ranks "first among all the means for the alleviation of distress."[4] It was in just this kind of service

social standing with the Evangelical wing of the Established Church, and also had leanings toward the Nonconformists. In a sense, it was a bridge between the Wesleyan Methodist phase of the Revival and the Evangelical.

[1] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 182-183.

[2] *Journal*, July 31, 1741.

[3] *Journal*, Nov. 22, 1747. For other instances see *Journal*, Nov. 20, 1767; *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1843, 27.

[4] Devine, *The Principles of Relief*, 332.

that the early Methodists made their greatest contribution, and perhaps their most distinctive contribution to the philanthropy of the eighteenth century.

According to John Richard Green, "the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist Revival."[1] In a real sense this is true. More Englishmen owe a debt to the Revival than ever appeared on the rolls of "the people called Methodists." It was of inestimable value in purifying English manners, in breaking up mob spirit, in promoting a new sense of the dignity and seriousness of life. Many a small town had its mode of living and its entire temper transformed by the moral tonic which the Revival brought. Under its influences and in the chapels and schools which it built was begun the training of the laboring class in self-mastery and independence. By its persistent emphasis on the immortal possibilities of every man no matter what his condition, collier or lord, plough-boy or squire, it helped to weaken that subservience of the one, that patronizing spirit of the other, which formed so strong a barrier to the advance of democracy. The detailed investigation of these social forces belongs to another study. Yet it is in the light of these wider aspects of the Revival that the philanthropy of the Methodists must always be viewed. Nor may we stop there. The Evangelical party itself and its great constructive reforms were to a large degree the result of the Revival's impress upon the Established Church. It remained for a group that had political power to do what a group politically weak could not accomplish. But when the story of the philanthropies of the Evangelical Revival is written, they will be found to be kith and kin to those of the Methodists. Indeed, the spirit at the heart of all philanthropy is the spirit which actuated that unquenchable little preacher who more than any one man in the eighteenth century set before all England the imperative duty of "doing good to all men."

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[1]Green, *History of the English People,* IV, 149.

APPENDIX I

The Membership of the Holy Club

As the organization of the Holy Club was quite informal, membership in the group is not easy to determine. The members are usually mentioned as "our friends," or in similar fashion. The following names (dates of matriculation from *Alumni Oxoniensis* in parenthesis) have come down to us. John Wesley (1720) of Christ Church, Fellow of Lincoln; Charles Wesley (1726), William Morgan (1728), John Gambold (1726), and John (?) Boyce (1727) of Christ Church; Robert Kirkham (1727) of Merton; Richard Morgan (1733), James Hervey (1731), John Whitelamb (1731), and Westley Hall (1731) of Lincoln; John Clayton (1726), and Matthew Salmon (1730) of Brazenose; Benjamin Ingham (1739) and Christopher Atkinson (1732) of Queens; John Hutchins (1734), Walter[1] Chapman (1729), and George Whitefield (1732) of Pembroke; Charles Kinchin (1725) of Corpus Christi; William Smith (1726?) of Lincoln (?). See Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* esp. p. 361, and *Alumni Oxoniensis.* A letter of Ingham's to Wesley, Oct. 19, 1737 (Tyerman, *Wesley,* I, 137), gives the following additional names of "friends at Oxford": Washington, Bell, Turney, Watson, Dick Smith, Robson, Grieves, Thompson (of Queens). Another letter, dated Sept. 25, 1735 (Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 23), gives the name of "Mr. Carter." Of these three can probably be identified: Henry Washington (1733) of Queens, Richard Smith (1732) of Christ Church, John Robson (1732) of Lincoln. Neither Grieves nor Turney appears in *Alumni Oxoniensis,* and there are several alternatives in the case of the others. For further particulars see Appendix XXVII in the sixth volume (yet unpublished) of the Standard Edition of the Journal.

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[1]Tyerman, who says "William," is certainly in error here. He is also in error about Hutchins, see Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.,* V, 151.

APPENDIX II

The Principles of the Holy Club's Philanthropy

The outcry daily increasing, that we might show what ground there was for it, we proposed to our friends, or opponents, as we had opportunity, these or the like questions:

I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, "who went about doing good"?

Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, "While we have time let us do good to all men"?

Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now?

Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, "fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison"; and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death?

Whether it be not our bounden duty always to remember, that He did more for us than we can do for Him, who assures us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me"?

II. Whether upon these considerations we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians?

Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars?

Whether of the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue?

Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can?

Whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have wrote the best on those subjects?

Whether we may not assist them, as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

III. Whether, upon the considerations above mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? In particular, whether, if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?

Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common-Prayer Book, or *Whole Duty of Man?*

Whether we may not, now and then, inquire how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do?

Whether we may not enforce upon them, more especially, the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament?

Whether we may not contribute what little we are able toward having their children clothed and taught to read?

Whether we may not take care that they be taught their catechism and short prayers for morning and evening?

IV. Lastly, whether, upon the considerations above mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are in prison? In particular, whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums?

Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?

Whether we may not give to them, who appear to want it most, a little money, or clothes, or physic?

Whether we may not supply as many as are serious enough to read, with a Bible, and *Whole Duty of Man?*

Whether we may not, as we have opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with respect to public and private prayer and the blessed sacrament?

—Introductory Letter, *Journal*, I, 96-97.

APPENDIX III

Illustrations of the Philanthropy of the Holy Club

WILLIAM MORGAN TO JOHN WESLEY

February 5, 1731.

Dear Sir,—

After seven last night I reached Oxford, and, after having long rested my weary limbs, went this morning to Bo-Cro, who have exceeded our best wishes. I have just finished my rounds, and perceived it was not for nothing that I came hither before you. Stewart's papers will not be in London until Monday. He desires you to get the rule of court for him, and let him have it as soon as possi-

ble. Coster begs you would call at Mrs. Hannah Ebbins', upholsterer, in Shadwell Street, near Tower Hill, at the sign of the Flag, and let her know his present condition. She is very rich, he says, and has often told him she would at any time do him whatever service she could.

Fisher desires you to look into the *Gazette,* and see whether the estate of John Davies, of Goldington and Ravensden, is to be sold.

You would do well to buy a few cheap spelling books if you can meet with any, for they are wanted much at the Castle.

Comb's goods were seized last week, and 'tis thought he is gone to London. If he should call on you for what you owe him, put him in mind of paying you, for me, the twelve shillings he owes me. . . . . .

Your sincere friend and affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM MORGAN.

—Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* p. 5. For date see note, p. 7 above.

JOHN CLAYTON TO JOHN WESLEY

Oxon., August 1, 1732.

Rev. & Dear Sir,—

. . . . . .

Bocardo, I fear, grows worse upon my hands. They have done nothing but quarrel ever since you left us; and they carried matters so high on Saturday, that the bailiffs were sent for, who ordered Tomlyns to be fettered and put in the dungeon, where he lay some hours, and then, upon promise of his good behaviour, was released again. He has been much better ever since that time, and I hope will be better for it all his life-time. Wisdom has never been to hear me read, notwithstanding his promise. I sent for him yesterday, but he would not come down; and when I had done reading, I went upstairs to him, and upbraided him with breaking his promise, upon which he very easily replied, that he had thought better of it since he had seen me, and was determined never to come near Blair, lest his indignation should rise at the sight of him.

The *Castle* is, I thank God, in much better condition. All the felons were acquitted, except Salmon, who is referred to be tried at Warwick, to our great disappointment,—and the sheep-stealer,

who is burnt in the hand, and who, I verily believe, is a great penitent. I got Mrs. Jopping a copy of her son's indictment at the Assizes, which has made her mighty easy ever since; and she is now endeavoring to bring her mind into due frame for the devout participation of the holy communion on Sunday next. Jempro is discharged, and I have appointed Harris to read to the prisoners in his stead. Two of the felons likewise have paid their fees, and are gone out, both of them able to read mighty well. There are only two in the jail who want this accomplishment,—John Clanvills, who reads but moderately, and the horse-stealer, who cannot read at all. He knows all his letters, however, and can spell most of the common monosyllables. I hear them both read three times a week, and I believe Salmon hears them so many times a day.

. . . . .

Mrs. Tireby has been very ill this last week, so that she has made no great proficiency. I am to go down at six o'clock to hear the determination of a meeting of Saint Thomas's parish, respecting separating Bossum and his wife. When I had promised to give a crown towards clothing the woman, and the overseer had determined to take her in upon that condition, the church warden would needs have him try to put the man upon me too, to get a crown towards clothing him; but, as he is able to work for his living, I don't think him a proper object for charity; nor can I at this time afford to do anything for him, because I am apprehensive that I must be forced to contribute to Salmon's relief, who will want near twenty shillings to subpœna proper witnesses to Warwick at his trial; and I cannot but think it a much greater act of charity to relieve a suffering innocent than to relieve an idle beggar.

I have been twice at the school,—namely on Tuesday and Saturday last, and intend to go again as soon as I have finished this letter. The children all go on pretty well, except Jervaise's boy, who, I find, truants till eleven o'clock in a morning. I threatened the boy what we would do to him if he ever truanted any more, and he has promised (as all children do) that he will do so no more; nay, his mother assures me that he shall not. I got a shilling for her from our Vice-Principal, and gave her six pence myself, to preserve the gown that is in pawn from being sold; and the woman who has it promised not to sell it, provided Jervaise will bring her six pence a week towards redeeming it.

I have obtained leave to go to Saint Thomas's workhouse twice a week; and, indeed, I cannot but hope it will be a noble field of improvement. I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction, for there is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don't understand one word of what they read.

I think I have nothing further to add about our affairs; . . . . . Pray don't forget a few Common-Prayer Books for the Castle. . . . .

Mr. Hall is not yet come home, so that I am pretty much taken up amongst the poor people and the prisoners, and have not yet had time to consider of any improvements or additions to be made to the list of books for our pupils. . . .

Your most affectionate friend and most obliged humble servant,

J. CLAYTON.

—Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists, 27-29.*

GAMBOLD'S ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY CLUB

Some or other of them went to the Castle every day; and another most commonly to Bocardo. Whoever came to the Castle was to read in the chapel to as many prisoners as would attend, and to talk to the man or men whom he had taken particularly in charge. Before reading, he asked: Whether they had prayers yesterday? (For some serious men among the prisoners read family prayers with the rest.) Whether they had read over again what was read last, and what they remembered of it? Then he went over the heads of it to them; and afterwards went on in the same book for a quarter of an hour. The books they used were the *Christian Monitor*, the *Country Parson's Advice to His Parishioners*, and such-like. When he had done, he summed up the several particulars that had been insisted on, enforced the advice given, and reduced it at last to two or three sentences, which they might easily remember. Then he took his man aside, and asked him, Whether he was in the chapel yesterday? and other questions concerning his care to serve God and learn his duty.

When a new prisoner came, their conversation with him, for four or five times, was particularly close and searching. Whether he bore no malice towards those that did prosecute him, or any others? The first time, after professions of good-will, they only inquired of his circumstances in the world. Such questions im-

ported friendship, and engaged the man to open his heart. Afterwards they entered upon such enquiries as most concerned a prisoner. Whether he submitted to this disposal of Providence? Whether he repented of his past life? Last of all, they asked him, Whether he constantly used private prayer and whether he had ever communicated? Thus, most or all of the prisoners were spoken to in their turns. But, if any one was either under sentence of death, or appeared to have some intention of a new life, they came every day to his assistance, and partook in the conflict and suspense of those who should now be found able or not able to lay hold on salvation. In order to release those who were confined for small debts, and were bettered by their affliction, and likewise to purchase books, physic, and other necessaries, they raised a small fund, to which many of their acquaintances contributed quarterly. They had prayers at the Castle most Wednesdays and Fridays, a sermon on Sundays, and the Sacrament once a month.

When they undertook any poor family, they saw them, at least, once a week; sometimes gave them money; admonished them of their vices; read to them; and examined their children.

The school was, I think, of Mr. Wesley's own setting-up. At all events, he paid the mistress, and clothed some, if not all, of the children. When they went thither, they enquired how each child behaved, saw their work (for some could knit and spin); heard them read; heard them their prayers and catechism; and explained part of it. In the same manner, they taught the children in the workhouse; and read to the old people as they did to the prisoners.

—From Gambold's account of the Holy Club, written after he left the University. Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists,* 158-159.

APPENDIX IV

From Mr. Wesley's Account of the Church of Herrnhut

In Herrnhut is taught reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, History, and Geography. There is a Latin, French, and an English lecture every day, as well as an historical and geographical one. On Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, is the Hebrew lecture; the Greek on Tuesday and Thursday. In the Orphan House the larger children rise at five.

(The smaller, between five and six.) After a little private prayer they work till seven. Then they are at school till eight, the hour of prayer; at nine those who are capable of it learn Latin; at ten, French; at eleven, they all walk; at twelve, they dine all together, and walk till one; at one, they work or learn writing; at three, arithmetic; at four, history; at five, they work; at six, sup and work; at seven, after a time spent in prayer, walk; at eight, the smaller children go to bed, the larger to the public service. When this is ended, they work again till at ten they go to bed.

—*Journal*, II, 50.

From "An Extract of the Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut," 1733

4. We have also another sort of Deacons, who take care that nothing be wanting to the Orphan House, the poor, the sick, and the strangers. Others, again, there are who are peculiarly to take care of the sick; and others, of the poor. And two of these are entrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended. . . . . .

12. In the Orphan House, about seventy children are brought up separate, according to their sex; beside which, several experienced persons are appointed to consult with the parents, touching the education of the other children. In teaching them Christianity we make use of Luther's Catechism, and study the amending their wills as well as their understanding; finding by experience that when their will is moved, they often learn more in a few hours than otherwise in many months. Our little children we instruct chiefly by hymns; whereby we find the most important truths most successfully insinuated into their minds.

—*Journal*, II, 52 ff.

From an Account of the Rise of the Schools at Jena

There are now thirty constant teachers, ten in each school, and three or four supernumerary, to supply accidental defects. Four of the masters are appointed to punish, who are affixed to no one school. Each of the schools being divided into two classes, and taught five hours a day, every one of the thirty masters has one hour in a day to teach. All the masters have a conference about

the schools every Monday. They have a second meeting on Thursday, chiefly for prayer; and a third every Saturday. Once in half a year they meet to fill up the places of those masters who are gone away. And the number has never decreased; fresh ones still offering themselves, as the former leave the university. The present method wherein they teach is this: —

There are always two classes in each school. In the lower, children from six to ten or twelve years old are taught to read. They are then removed to the other class, in which are taught the Holy Scriptures, arithmetic, and whatever else it may be useful for children to learn. In the morning, from eight to nine, they are all catechized, and instructed in the first principles of Christianity, either from Luther's Smaller Catechism, or from some texts of Holy Scripture. From nine to ten the smaller children are taught their letters and syllables; and the larger read the Bible. From ten to eleven those in the lower class learn and repeat some select verses of Holy Scripture, chiefly relating to the foundation of the faith. Meanwhile those in the upper learn arithmetic. In the afternoon, from one to two, all the children are employed as from nine to ten in the morning. From two to three, the smaller children learn and repeat Luther's Smaller Catechism, while the larger are taught to write. Every Sunday there is a public catechising on some text of Scripture; at which all persons who desire it may be present.

—*Journal*, August 21, 1738.

APPENDIX V

Mr. Wesley's Instruction to the Stewards in 1747

11. If you cannot relieve, do not grieve the poor: give them soft words, if nothing else; abstain from either sour looks, or harsh words. Let them be glad to come, even though they should go empty away. Put yourself in the place of every poor man; and deal with him as you would God should deal with you.

—*Journal*, June 4, 1747.

Mr. Wesley's Description of the Duties of the Stewards

2. The business of these stewards is,

To manage the temporal things of the society. To receive the

subscriptions and contributions. To expend what is needful from time to time. To send relief to the poor. To keep an exact account of all receipts and expenses. To inform the minister if any of the rules of the society are not punctually observed. To tell the preachers in love, if they think anything amiss, either in their doctrine or life.

3. The rules of the stewards are,

(1) Be frugal. Save everything that can be saved honestly. (2) Spend no more than you receive. Contract no debts. (3) Have no long accounts. Pay everything within a week. (4) Give none that asks relief either an ill word or an ill look. Do not hurt them, if you cannot help. (5) Expect no thanks from man.

4. They met together at six every Thursday morning; consulted on the business which came before them; sent relief to the sick, as every one had need; and gave the remainder of what had been contributed each week to those who appeared to be in the most pressing want. So that all was concluded within the week; what was brought on Tuesday being constantly expended on Thursday. I soon had the pleasure to find that all these temporal things were done with the utmost faithfulness and exactness; so that my cares of this kind were at an end. I had only to revise the accounts to tell them if I thought anything might be amended, and to consult how deficiencies might be supplied from time to time; for these were frequent and large (so far were we from abundance), the income by no means answering the expenses. But that we might not faint, sometimes we had unforeseen helps in times of the greatest perplexity. At other times we borrowed larger or smaller sums; of which the greatest part has since been repaid. But I owe some hundred pounds to this day. So much have I gained by preaching the Gospel!

—"A Plain Account of the People called Methodists" (written in 1748), *Works*, V, 185-6.

APPENDIX VI

Mr. Wesley and the Sick

For Mr. Wesley's contact with the sick see the following: Journal, 1740, May 14 (collier with small-pox, Bristol); Diary, August 10, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24 ("some ill," "many ill," "three ill,"

"fifteen ill," "many ill"); Journal, Sept. 11 ("a poor woman . . . lying ill between her two sick children without either physic or food," London), Nov. 16, 17, 18, 19 (visits those ill with spotted fever "which had been extremely mortal," Bristol); Diary, Dec. 6 (Guy's Hospital, London). Journal, 1741, Mar. 18, 19 (visits sick, "every Wednesday and Thursday," Bristol), Mar. 23 (a widow and six children ill "without either physic, money, or food," Bristol). The organizing of the sick-visiting is described in the text.

Other references to Mr. Wesley's personal visits to the sick and to hospitals are Diary, May 2, 1741 ("the hospitals"); Journal, May 20 (Bristol); June 11, 1742 (Epworth); Feb. 26, 1743 (Newcastle); Mar. 16, 1745; Mar. 1, 1746 (Bristol, epidemic); Jan. 24, 1750; Feb. 8, 9, 10, 21, 1753; May 30, 1755 (Newcastle Infirmary); April 25, 1757 (Infirmary and Seamen's Hospital, Liverpool); June 1, 1757 (Infirmary and Lunatic Hospital, Glasgow); Feb. 11, 1759 (Saint George's Hospital, London); Nov. 24, 1760; Dec. 21, 1762 (Saint Luke's Hospital, London); May 25, 1763 (Gordon Hospital, Aberdeen); Aug. 3, 1767; Feb. 21, 1772; Jan. 7, June 14, 1773; April 19, 1774; Mar. 4, 1785 (Royal Hospital, Plymouth); July 8, 1786 (General Hospital, Nottingham).

For Mr. Wesley's comments on medical practice and on extraordinary cases see Journal, Mar. 10, 12, 1742; June 12, 1742; July 6, 1746 (recommends leaving off tea-drinking); Oct. 22, 1748 (visits Sir Hans Sloane's Physic Garden at Chelsea); Jan. 20, 1753 (recommends electricity for a paralytic); Feb. 17, 1753 (Franklin's electrical observations); Mar. 5, 1753 (contagion of consumption noted); April 5, 1756 (cure of pleurisy without bleeding, cf. Feb. 16, 1757), May 12, 1759; Dec. 26, 1761; Jan. 4, 1768 (Priestley's book on electricity); July 24, 1772 ("Medical Essays, lately published"); Jan. 7, 1773; June 14, 1773; April 19, 1774.

Many more such entries would doubtless be found, were the diaries not lacking for the period from Aug. 9, 1741, to Feb. 24, 1790.

APPENDIX VII

An Important Day in the History of Methodist Philanthropy

Thur. 7.—I reminded the United Society that many of our brethren and sisters had not needful food; many were destitute

of convenient clothing; many were out of business, and that without their own fault; and many sick and ready to perish: that I had done what in me lay to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to employ the poor, and to visit the sick; but was not, alone, sufficient for these things; and therefore desired all whose hearts were as my heart:

1. To bring what clothes each could spare, to be distributed among those that wanted most.

2. To give weekly a penny, or what they could afford, for the relief of the poor and sick.

My design, I told them, is to employ, for the present, all the women who were out of business, and desire it, in knitting.

To these we will first give the common price for that work they do; and then add, according as they need.

Twelve persons are appointed to inspect these, and to visit and provide things needful for the sick.

Each of these is to visit all the sick within their district, every other day: and to meet on Tuesday evening, to give an account of what they have done, and consult what can be done further.

—*Journal*, May 7, 1741.

APPENDIX VIII

Extracts from Mr. Wesley's Sermon "On Visiting the Sick"

"I was sick, and ye visited me," *Matt.* xxv, 36.

. . . . . .

I. First, I would inquire, what is the nature of this duty? What is implied in "visiting the sick"?

1. By the sick, I do not mean only those that keep their bed, or that are sick in the strictest sense. Rather I would include all such as are in a state of affliction, whether of mind or body; and that, whether they are good or bad, whether they fear God or not.

2. "But is there need of visiting them in person? May we not relieve them at a distance? Does it not answer the same purpose, if we send them help, as if we carry it ourselves?" Many are so circumstanced that they cannot attend the sick in person; and where this is the real case, it is, undoubtedly, sufficient for them to send help, being the only expedient they can use. But this is not prop-

erly visiting the sick; it is another thing. The word which we render *visit,* in its literal acceptation, means, to *look upon.* And this, you well know, cannot be done unless you are present with them. To send them assistance is, therefore, entirely a different thing from visiting them. The former then ought to be done, but the latter not left undone.

"But I send a physician to those that are sick: and he can do them more good than I can." He can in one respect: he can do them more good with regard to their bodily health. But he cannot do them more good with regard to their souls, which are of infinitely greater importance. And if he could, this would not excuse *you:* his going would not fulfill *your* duty. Neither would it do the same good to *you,* unless you saw them with your own eyes. If you do not, you lose a means of grace: you lose an excellent means of increasing your thankfulness to God, who saves you from this pain and sickness, and continues your health and strength; as well as of increasing your sympathy with the afflicted, your benevolence, and all social affections.

3. One great reason why the rich in general have so little sympathy for the poor is because they so seldom visit them. Hence it is, that, according to the common observation, one part of the world does not know what the other suffers. Many of them do not know, because they do not care to know; they keep out of the way of knowing it; and then plead their voluntary ignorance as an excuse for their hardness of heart. "Indeed, sir," (said a person of large substance), "I am a very compassionate man. But to tell you the truth, I do not know anybody in the world that is in want." How did this come to pass? Why, he took good care to keep out of their way. And if he fell upon any of them unawares, "he passed over on the other side."

4. How contrary to this are both the spirit and behaviour of even people of the highest rank in a neighbouring nation! In Paris, ladies of the first quality, yea, princesses of the blood, of the royal family, constantly visit the sick, particularly the patients in the grand hospital. And they not only take care to relieve their wants (if they need anything more than is provided for them), but attend on their sick beds, dress their sores, and perform the meanest offices for them. Here is a pattern for the English, poor or rich, mean or honourable! For many years we have abundantly copied

after the follies of the French. Let us for once copy after their wisdom and virtue, worthy the imitation of the whole Christian world. Let not the gentlewomen, or even the countesses, in England, be ashamed to imitate those princesses of the blood! Here is a fashion that does honour to human nature. It began in France; but God forbid it should end there!

. . . . . .

II. 1. I proceed to inquire in the second place, How are we to visit them? In what manner may this labour of love be most effectually performed? How may we do this most to the glory of God, and to the benefit of our neighbour? But before ever you enter upon the work, you should be deeply convinced that you are by no means sufficient for it: you have neither sufficient grace, nor sufficient understanding, to perform it in the most excellent manner. And this will convince you of the necessity of applying to the Strong for strength; and of flying to the Father of lights, the Giver of every good gift, for wisdom; ever remembering, "There is a Spirit in man that giveth wisdom, and the inspiration of the Holy One that giveth understanding." Whenever, therefore, you are about to enter upon the work, seek His help by earnest prayer. Cry to Him for the whole spirit of humility, lest if pride steal into your heart, if you ascribe anything to yourself, while you strive to save others, you destroy your own soul. Before and through the work, from the beginning to the end, let your heart wait upon Him for a continual supply of meekness and gentleness, of patience and long suffering, that you may never be angry or discouraged, at whatever treatment, rough or smooth, kind or unkind, you may meet with. Be not moved with the deep ignorance of some, the dullness, the amazing stupidity of others: marvel not at their peevishness or stubbornness; at their non-improvement after all the pains that you have taken; yea, at some of them turning back to perdition, and being worse than they were before. Still your record is with the Lord, and your reward with the Most High.

2. As to the particular method of treating the sick, you need not tie yourself down to any; but may continually vary your manner of proceeding, as various circumstances may require. But it may not be amiss, usually, to begin with inquiring into their outward condition. You may ask, Whether they have the necessaries of life? Whether they have sufficient food and raiment? If the

weather be cold, Whether they have fuel? Whether they have needful attendance? Whether they have proper advice, with regard to their bodily disorder, especially if it be of a dangerous kind? In several of these respects you may be able to give them some assistance yourself; and you may move those that are more able than you, to supply your lack of service. You might properly say in your own case, "To beg I am ashamed"; but never be ashamed to beg for the poor; yea, in this case, be an importunate beggar: do not easily take a denial. Use all the address, all the understanding, all the influence you have: at the same time trusting in Him that has the hearts of all men in His hands.

3. You will then easily discern, whether there is any good office, which you can do for them with your hands. Indeed, most of the things which are needful to be done, those about them can do better than you. But in some you may have more skill, or more experience, than them. And if you have, let not delicacy or honour stand in your way. Remember His word, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me." And think nothing too mean to do for Him. Rejoice to be abased for His sake.

4. These little labours of love will pave your way to things of greater importance. Having shown that you have a regard for their bodies, you may proceed to enquire concerning their souls. And here you have a large field before you: you have scope for exercising all the talents which God has given you. May you not begin with asking, Have you ever considered that God governs the world?—that His providence is over all?—and over *you* in particular? Does anything then befall you without His knowledge? or without His designing it for your good? He knows all you suffer: He knows all your pains: He sees all your wants. He sees not only your affliction in general, but every particular circumstance of it. Is He not looking down from heaven, and disposing all these things for your profit? You may then inquire, Whether he is acquainted with the general principles of religion? And afterwards, lovingly and gently examine, Whether his life has been agreeable thereto? Whether he has been an outward, barefaced sinner, or has had a form of religion? See next, whether he knows anything of the power? Of worshiping God "in spirit and in truth"? If he does not, endeavour to explain to him, "Without holiness no man shall

see the Lord"; and, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." When he begins to understand the nature of holiness, and the necessity of the new birth, then you may press upon him "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

. . . . . .

6. Together with the more important lessons which you endeavour to teach all the poor whom you visit, it would be a deed of charity to teach them two things more, which they are generally little acquainted with: industry and cleanliness. It was said by a pious man, "Cleanliness is next to godliness." Indeed the want of it is a scandal to all religion; causing the way of truth to be evil spoken of. And without industry, we are neither fit for this world, nor for the world to come. With regard to both, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

III. 1. The third point to be considered is, By whom is this duty to be performed? The answer is ready: By all that desire to "inherit the kingdom" of their Father, which was "prepared for them from the foundation of the world." For thus saith the Lord, "Come, ye blessed;—inherit the kingdom;—for I was sick, and ye visited me." And to those on the left hand, "Depart, ye cursed;—for I was sick, and ye visited me not." Does not this plainly imply that as all who do this are "blessed," and shall "inherit the kingdom"; so all who do it not are "cursed," and shall "depart into everlasting fire"?

2. All, therefore, who desire to escape everlasting fire, and to inherit the everlasting kingdom, are equally concerned, according to their power, to practise this important duty. It is equally incumbent on young and old, rich and poor, men and women, according to their ability. None are so young, if they desire to save their own souls, as to be excused from assisting their neighbors. None are so poor (unless they want the necessaries of life), but they are called to do something more or less, at whatever time they can spare, for the relief and comfort of their afflicted fellow sufferers.

—Sermon CIII, *Works*, II, 329 ff.

APPENDIX IX

From a Letter to Archbishop Secker

MARCH 25, 1747

For more than twenty years I have had numberless proofs that regular physicians do exceeding little good. From a deep conviction of this, I have believed it my duty, within these four months last past, to prescribe such medicines to six or seven hundred of the poor as I knew were proper for their several disorders. Within six weeks, nine in ten of them who had taken these medicines were remarkably altered for the better; and many were cured of diseases under which they had laboured for ten, twenty, forty years. Now, ought I to have let one of these poor wretches perish, because I was not a regular physician? to have said, "I know what will cure you: but I am not of the college: you must send for Dr. Mead." Before Dr. Mead had come in his chariot, the man might have been in his coffin. And when the doctor was come, where was his fee? What! he cannot live upon nothing! So, instead of an orderly cure, the patient dies, and God requires his blood at my hands!

—*Works*, VI, 644.

APPENDIX X

The Rules of a Strangers' Friend Society

1. Many have been the charitable institutions which have commenced in England in little more than half a century. One of these has been of a new kind; I believe, never heard of before. Four or five years ago, a few poor men in London agreed to pay each a penny a week, in order to relieve strangers who had no habitation, no clothes, no food, no friends. They met once a week, and assigned to each his share of the work for the ensuing week; to discover proper objects (who, indeed, were easily found); and to relieve them according to their several necessities. And they took care of their souls as well as their bodies, instructing them in the principles of religion, of which, till then, they had little more knowledge than the beasts of the field.

2. A little Society of the same kind has lately been founded at Bristol. Being determined to do them all the service I could, I appointed them to meet at six o'clock every Sunday morning, at

the New Room, with the resident Preacher and two Stewards, who are to receive all contributions, and keep account of all disbursements.

3. At the weekly meeting, first the names are called over; then each has his work assigned for the following week. Next, inquiry is made, whether each has fulfilled his appointment the preceding week.

4. Any member who, without a sufficient cause, is absent from this meeting, or does not fulfill his appointment, pays two pence, for the use of the poor.

5. If any of the members are sick, they shall be visited twice a week.

JOHN WESLEY.

Bristol, March 12th, 1790.

—Myles, *Chronological History,* pp. 182-183.

APPENDIX XI

THE STRANGERS' FRIEND SOCIETY AND A FRENCH REFUGEE

It is quite possible that the Spitalfields branch of the Strangers' Friend Society is the institution referred to in the preface of *Journal de Jean Migault,* Paris, 1825. One of the journalist's descendants fled to England near the end of the eighteenth century and fell into misfortune. Says the preface: "Le double fléau des maladies et de la pauvreté n'exerce que trop souvent ses ravages parmi ces hommes entassés, et il faut toute la vigilance de la Police et toute l'activité de la bienfaisance pour maintenir l'ordre parmi eux et leur rendre, jusqu'a un certain point, l'existence supportable. Une association charitable, connue sous le nom de Societé de Bienfaisance de Spitalfields, a exerce pendant quatorze ans, la plus heureuse influence sur les habitans de ce quartier, en les visitant, et en administrant aux indigens et aux affligés les secours temporels et spirituels. Ce fut dans une de ces visites pieuses que fut decouvert le manuscrit que l'on publie aujourd'hui."

—Cited in *Wes. Meth. Mag.,* 1845, 663 note.

APPENDIX XII

An Example of Silas Told's Prison-Visiting

(The purpose of this rather lengthy extract is to illustrate both the method of prison visiting and the brutal manners of the times.)

I shall now give a plain account of Mrs. Brownrigg, in order to furnish my readers with a view of her disquietude, and her shocking situation during her imprisonment; the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor having been pleased to favor me with an order to Mr. Akerman (the keeper of Newgate) for granting me permission to attend her while confined therein, for the cruel and wilful murder of her apprentice girl, Mary Clifford, September 4th, 1767.

I went to her accordingly on the evening subsequent to the above direction, and was conducted to the room where Mrs. Brownrigg was sitting on her bedside, accompanied by a poor woman. I addressed her in the most awful manner I was capable of, telling her that I came in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and if she would accept of my services I should consider it my duty to speak my mind as closely as possible, as I had heard very dreadful accounts of her conduct. She replied, "Mr. Told, I am very glad to see you, and shall not esteem you my friend if you do not deal with plainness towards me, and speak as close as you can." Happy was I to hear her speak thus, and said to her, "Mrs. Brownrigg, you are in an awful situation before man, but more especially before the Almighty God; your most secret sins are within his immediate view, so that you can hide nothing from his all-seeing eye: Your character also, in the eye of the world, is rendered loathed and horrible, as you are charged with crimes of the deepest dye, many of which I can hardly credit: However, matters appear too evident in regard to the fact for which you are convicted." I likewise told her, "I very much feared she had but little mercy upon her late fellow creatures; that she cruelly used the deceased repeatedly, and for some length of time!" Her answer was, "I acknowledge this accusation, so far as to have given the girl repeated corrections, but no further; my intentions being directly opposite to any kind of violence." I then observed to her that I did not believe she was stimulated by so fierce a spirit of anger as to be driven to the immediate perpetration of murder; but I added also, "What were your ideas

of the dreadful consequences which must issue from such shocking acts of cruelty, too shocking to nature?" She replied, "Sir, if I had any consideration of the danger, I could not have done the deed; the devil reigned with a fatal mastery over me." I then told her the Word of God expressly declares, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," therefore I had no doubt that her life would go for the life of the poor child. She replied, "I have no doubt of it neither." Here I began to be more pointed, and said to her, "If you are thus conscious of your guilt there is no time to lose; immediately then lay your dreadful case before God, under a deep sense of the sin you have committed, and not for that only, but for all and every of your actual sins, from the earliest period of your life to the present moment, or you can have no just hopes of mercy at the hand of God, through the merits of a crucified Redeemer, as we are confidently assured he came into the world to save us *from* our sins, not *in* them": Therefore I continued to insist upon it, unless she humbled herself under the mighty hand of God by a heartfelt repentance, and an open acknowledgement of those flagrant crimes she had been guilty of, no favor could be afforded to her unhappy soul by the hand of God in the day of judgment, nor would she consequently have peace of mind while on earth. "This," said Mrs. Brownrigg, "I firmly believe." I then further added, "That I did not come to extort any confession from her, and begged she would confess nothing to me"; but I observed to her, "You will, in a few days, be brought upon your trial, when you will not only be in the presence of the judge and jury, but also in the more immediate presence of the all-seeing God; and witnesses will be called for to give evidence against you; then more especially will be the time when it behooves you to speak the truth; and I charge you therefore, at the peril of your soul, not to advance anything against the dictates of your own conscience, in covering your crimes, the guilt of which you know before God you are not exempt from; but I pray you adhere firmly to the truth, should death be the consequence." She replied, "I intend it." I again advised her to reject, as much as possibly she could, the suggestions of the enemy, in covering her crimes, but to be frankly ingenious in the acknowledgment thereof before proper magistrates: I then closed my first visit with prayer, after having given her, agreeable to her felicitations, all the spiritual assistance within the limits of my ca-

pacity. When finished, I parted with her, and the next day (being Sunday) I visited her again about twelve o'clock, asking her how she found herself, as I perceived her spirits to be greatly depressed. She replied, "Mr. Told, since you was with me yesterday, I have deeply weighed your kind instructions, which has occasioned great uneasiness and distress in my mind; and notwithstanding I was somewhat easy and composed at certain periods before, I am, alas! quite otherwise now, for I am horribly afraid, my grievous sins have been set in array before me! and I am dreadfully intimidated and fearful, lest God should never show me his mercy!" I told her I was happier with this report, and much more satisfied with her perfect state than at my former visit, as I then perceived some hopes of her unhappy state, as her condition was, because her conscience was now convinced of her crime. I applied at this time many threatening, as well as healing, passages of Scripture to her conscience, which she very willingly and with much thankfulness received. I concluded this visit also with prayer, and then departed.

. . . .

Monday the 14th instant, being the day of her execution, I went to Newgate about a quarter past six o'clock in the morning, and found her with the Reverend Mr. Moor, the Ordinary, in the press-yard room. We went immediately up to chapel, endeavoring to comfort her in the best manner we could, and found her spirit fully prepared to receive instruction, her mind greatly composed, and her heart filled with prayer.

When we came to chapel we tarried some time before prayers began, in the course of which interim the turnkey had introduced Mr. Brownrigg and their son. . . . . They then parted, when the keeper and myself led her downstairs (as she was, through extreme debility, unable to walk alone), and carried her into the press-yard room.

The sheriff not having arrived, we caught another opportunity of being useful to her, applying our short time to the most advantage. A clergyman belonging to St. Paul's was likewise of excellent service in giving her good and wholesome advice.

The time came, when Mrs. Brownrigg was ordered into the cart, when the Rev. Mr. James and myself stationed ourselves by

each side of her, Mr. James on the right hand, and myself on the left.

When we had fixed ourselves, I perceived the whole powers of darkness were ready to give her a reception. Beckoning to the multitude, I desired them to pray for her, at which they were rather silent, until the cart began to move. Then they triumphed over her with three huzzas, which was followed by a combination of curses.

When we had passed through the gate, carts were placed on each side of the street, filled principally with women. Here I may say, with the greatest truth, nothing could have equalled them, but the spirits let loose from the infernal pit; and, to be brief, this was the spirit of the wicked multitude all the way to the place of execution.

Notwithstanding her crime was horrible, yet God, in his infinite mercy, supported her mind; seeing her time was short, she did not make one complaint of such treatment; neither did she drop a murmuring expression from her lips in any part of her passage. I repeatedly asked her if the dreadful tumult did not draw the attention of her mind from off the Lord Jesus. She replied, "Not in the least, I bless God." Then some of the common cries from the thoughtless concourse, accompanied with dreadful imprecations, were, pull her hat off, pull off her hat, that we may see the ——'s face: however, I withstood this cutting clamour all the way, till we came to the place of execution, and that for two reasons; first, I was conscious it would too much expose her to the censure of the inexorable mob, and, which was abundantly worse, it would discompose her mind and hinder her meditating with God; the second consideration was that, as the incensed mob thought it not enough to rejoice over her by common rage and defamatory abuse, but were altogether cruel to cast stones, dirt, &c.; therefore, if I, through endeavoring to pacify them by a friendly address, should, on the contrary, excite their madness and exasperation, they would not only disturb her mind, but endanger her life before the law had executed its office. I must observe here, I never, in the course of my life, beheld so much the absolute necessity which all ministers of the Gospel, of every denomination, lay under, in plucking those brands from eternal death and destruction.

When we arrived at the place of execution the outcries of the mob were not so violent; yet, notwithstanding, when she was tied up

to the fatal tree, and exposed to God, angels, and men (an awful spectacle), little or no compassion was shown by the populace.

After the executioner had tied her up, I discovered a horrible dread in her countenance, and begged to know the cause. She said, "I have many times passed by this place, and always when near it a dreadful horror seized me, for fear that one day I should be hanged; and this enters my mind afresh, and greatly terrifies me!" I said, "Your mind all the way was very composed, and you told me you could put your full trust and confidence in your Redeemer; and that you had no doubt but you should be happy with him; don't you find it so still?" She replied, "I still retain my confidence, but what I frequently imagined whenever I passed this piece of ground now occurs, and therefore I am exceedingly terrified." I then told her it was not her duty to pay any attention to that, and encouraged her to look steadfastly to the Lord Jesus, and that would be sufficient to subdue every other opposition, and enable her to resign her spirit into the hands of Almighty God.

Some time before she was turned off, the Ordinary came into the cart, and spake to her, and prayed with her. We sang two hymns, and continued to exhort her for three-quarters of an hour. She was very devout, crying vehemently for mercy.

Just as the cart was ready to draw off, I turned to her, and advised her, in her last moment, to keep her mind steadfastly fixed upon Christ. She said, "I hope I shall." The cart then drew off, and, I humbly trust, God received her departed spirit.

—*Life of Mr. Silas Told*, London, 1790, pp. 128-147.

APPENDIX XIII

Mr. Wesley's Use of an Anonymous Gift

To the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post.*

Windmill Hill, February 18, 1760.

Sir,—

On Sunday, December 16th last, I received a £20 bank bill from an anonymous correspondent, who desired me to lay it out in the manner I judged best, for the use of poor prisoners. I immediately employed some in whom I could confide, to inquire into the circumstances of those confined in Whitechapel and New Prison. I knew

the former to have very little allowance, even of bread, and the latter none at all. Upon inquiry, they found one poor woman in Whitechapel prison very big with child, and destitute of all things. At the same time I casually heard of a poor man who had been confined for nine months in the Poultry Compter, while his wife and three children (whom he before maintained by his labor) were almost perishing through want. Not long after, another poor woman who had been diligent in helping others, was herself thrown into Whitechapel prison. The expense of discharging these three, and giving them a few necessaries amounted to £10 10s. One pound and fourteen shillings I expended in stockings and other clothing, which was given to those prisoners who were in the most pressing want. The remainder, £7 16s. was laid out in bread, which was warily distributed thrice a week. I am, therefore, assured that the whole of this sum was laid out in real charity. And how much more noble a satisfaction must result from this, to the generous benefactor, than he could receive from an embroidered suit of clothes, or a piece of plate, made in the newest fashion! Men of reason, judge!

I am, sir, your humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

—*Lloyd's Evening Post,* Feb. 22, 1760. Cited in Tyerman, *Wesley,* II, 348.

APPENDIX XIV

JOHN WESLEY'S SERVICE TO THE FRENCH PRISONERS

Mon. 15.—I walked up to Knowle, a mile from Bristol, to see the French prisoners. Above eleven hundred of them, we were informed, were confined in that little place without anything to lie on but a little dirty straw, or anything to cover them but a few foul, thin rags, either by day or by night, so that they died like rotten sheep. I was much affected, and preached in the evening on Exod. xxiii, 9, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the Land of Egypt." Eighteen pounds were contributed immediately, which were made up four-and-twenty the next day. With this we bought linen and woolen cloth, which were made up into shirts, waistcoats, and breeches. Some dozen of stockings were added; all which were carefully distributed where there was the greatest want. Presently

after, the Corporation of Bristol sent a large quantity of mattresses and blankets, and it was not long before contributions were set on foot at London, and in various parts of the kingdom, so that I believe from this time they were pretty well provided with all the necessaries of life.

—*Journal*, October 15, 1759.

To the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*.

Bristol, October 20, 1759.

Sir,—

Since I came to Bristol I heard many terrible accounts concerning the French prisoners at Knowle; as that "they were so wedged together that they had no room to breathe"; that "the stench of the rooms where they lodged was intolerable"; that "their food was only fit for dogs"; that "their meat was carrion, their bread rotten and unwholesome"; and that, "in consequence of this inhuman treatment, they died in whole shoals."

Desiring to know the truth, I went to Knowle on Monday, and was showed all the apartments there. But how I was disappointed! 1. I found they had large and convenient space to walk in, if they chose it, all the day. 2. There was no stench in any apartment I was in, either below or above. They were all sweeter and cleaner than any prison I have ever seen either in England or elsewhere. 3. Being permitted to go into the larder, I observed the meat hanging up, two large quarters of beef. It was fresh and fat, and I verily think as good as ever I desire to eat. 4. A large quantity of bread lay on one side. A gentleman took up and cut one of the loaves. It was made of good flour, was well baked, and perfectly well tasted. 5. Going thence to the hospital, I found that, even in this sickly season, there are not thirty persons dangerously ill out of twelve or thirteen hundred. 6. This hospital was sweeter and cleaner throughout than any hospital I ever saw in London. I think it my duty to declare these things, for clearing the innocent, and the honour of the English nation.

Yet one thing I observed with concern. A great part of these poor men are almost naked; and winter is now coming upon them in a cold prison, and a colder climate than most of them have been accustomed to. But will not the humanity and generosity of the

gentlemen of Bristol prevent or relieve this distress? Did they not make a notable precedent during the late war? And surely they are not weary of well doing. Tuesday night *we* did a little according to our power; but I shall rejoice if this be forgotten through the abundance administered by their liberality, in a manner which they judge most proper. Will it not be both for the honor of the city and country? for the credit of our religion, and for the glory of God, who knows how to return it sevenfold into their bosom?

I am your humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

—*Lloyd's Evening Post,* Oct. 26, 1759. *Works,* VI, 758; Tyerman, *Wesley,* II, 339-340.

APPENDIX XV

JAMES LACKINGTON'S TESTIMONY TO METHODIST PHILANTHROPY

Mr. Wesley's people think that they cannot *love their neighbour as themselves* without endeavouring to find out every possible way by which they may be serviceable to the souls and bodies of their fellow-creatures. In London and Bristol, and I believe in other places, some of their society who are able to pray, instruct, and exhort, endeavour to find out poor distressed objects who are confined to their beds by diseases in poorhouses, prisons, lodging-houses, dirty lanes, alleys, &c. Those poor, forsaken outcasts of society they instruct, exhort, pray with, &c. To objects most in want they give money. Perhaps there cannot be any labour of love more praiseworthy, or more deserving of encouragement, as great numbers of such poor, destitute wretches may at all times be found languishing in a forlorn state, and generally die without anyone caring anything about them: for none but such as are filled with the love of God and man will ever go into such loathsome places and habitations. I formerly accompanied some of those loving people in this work of mercy, and have witnessed their cheerful performance of this great duty, which to a poor, selfish, unregenerate heart would be intolerable. But no labour, however disagreeable or hazardous to health or life, is too much to be performed by such as are thoroughly impressed with the worth of an immortal soul; who are persuaded that *Christ tasted death for every man,* and *would that every man should come to the knowledge of the truth*

and be saved. While they were employed in this solemn work, if they could discover any poor creature that gave them reason to hope for his conversion, O, what love and joy warmed every heart? The devil knew that *Job did not serve God for naught.* Christ still pays his servants well for everything they do in his name and for his sake. Those people, when employed in such work as this, which to flesh and blood is not only irksome but shocking, yet would not have exchanged the pleasure which they found in it for any earthly enjoyment. . . .

It is not only in cities and large towns that the poor die unvisited; but also in many country towns, villages, &c. In the places where I have lived in the former part of my life, and where I have had a country-house, or in the various villages round my present residence, I do not recollect any poor person who had sent for a clergyman on such an occasion, or of any clergyman that went unsent for. Those poor creatures generally die as stupid and careless as they have lived. When any one of them has any concern about his immortal part, he is afraid to give trouble to the vicar or curate, and ashamed to let them witness his poverty and rags.

—*The Confessions of J. Lackington,* New York, 1806, 183-185.

APPENDIX XVI

Mr. Wesley's Visits to Workhouses

Journal, June 1, 6, 1757 (Glasgow), a "large and deeply attentive congregation." Feb. 14, 1771, "I went through both the upper and lower rooms of the London Workhouse. It contains about a hundred children, who are in as good order as any private family. And the whole house is as clean, from top to bottom, as any gentleman's needs be. And why is not every workhouse in London, yea, through the kingdom, in the same order? Purely for want either of sense, or of honesty and activity in them that superintend it." June 9, 1778 (Belfast), "The poorhouse stands on an eminence fronting the main street, and having a beautiful prospect on every side, over the whole country: the old men, the old women, the male and the female children, are all employed according to their strength; and all their apartments are airy, sweet, and clean, equal to anything of the kind I have seen in England." Oct. 3, 1778 (Bristol), "I was

much moved to see such a company of poor, maimed, halt, and blind, who seemed to have no one caring for their souls." June 24, 1783 (Amsterdam, a description of the workhouse).[1] May 12, 1787 (Cork), the Mayor "is diligently employed, from morning to night, in doing all the good he can. He has already prevailed upon the corporation to make it a fixed rule that the two hundred a year, which was spent in two entertainments, should for the future be employed in relieving indigent freemen, with their wives and children. He has carefully regulated the House of Industry, and has instituted a Humane Society for the relief of persons seemingly drowned. . . . When will our English mayors copy after the Mayor of Cork? . . . He was then so good as to walk with me quite through the city to the House of Industry, and to go with me through all the apartments, which are quite sweet and commodious. A hundred and ninety-two poor are lodged therein; and the master (a pious man, and a member of our society) watches over them, reads with them, and prays with them, as if they were his own children." May 17, 1787 (Limerick), the workhouse "is pleasantly situated on a rising ground near the river; and, I believe, would contain about three hundred persons. . . . At present there are about eighty persons there, the contributions falling short. The apartments are large, airy, and sweet; and the poor (most of whom are employed) seem contented."

APPENDIX XVII

Mr. Wesley's Account of the Poorhouse and School at the Foundery

I had for some years observed many, who, although not sick, were not able to provide for themselves, and had none who took care to provide for them: these were chiefly feeble, aged widows. I consulted with the stewards, how they might be relieved. They all agreed, if we could keep them in one house, it would not only be far less expensive to us, but also far more comfortable for them.

[1] On Aug. 17, 1786, being again in Amsterdam, Mr. Wesley "went to see the manner wherein the deacons of Amsterdam relieve their poor weekly. I suppose there were two or three hundred poor, but the whole was transacted with the utmost stillness and decency."

Indeed, we had no money to begin; but we believed He would provide, "who defendeth the cause of the widow": so we took a lease of two little houses near; we fitted them up so as to be warm and clean. We took in as many widows as we had room for, and provided them with things needful for the body; toward the expense of which I set aside, first, the weekly contributions of the bands, and then all that was collected at the Lord's Supper. It is true, this does not suffice: so that we are considerably in debt on this account also. But we are persuaded it will not always be so; seeing "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

In this (commonly called the Poorhouse) we have now nine widows, one blind woman, two poor children, two upper servants, a maid and a man. I might add, four or five preachers; for I myself, as well as the other preachers who are in town, diet with the poor, on the same food and at the same table; and we rejoice herein, as a comfortable earnest of our eating bread together in our Father's kingdom.

I have blessed God for this house ever since it began; but lately much more than ever. I honour these widows; for they "are widows indeed." So that it is not in vain that, without any design of so doing, we have copied after another of the institutions of the apostolic age. I can now say to all the world, "Come and see how these Christians love one another!" (This has since dropped for want of support.)

Another thing which had given me frequent concern was the case of abundance of children. Some their parents could not afford to put to school; so they remained like "a wild ass's colt." Others were sent to school, and learned, at least, to read and write; but they learned all kind of vice at the same time; so that it had been better for them to have been without their knowledge than to have bought it at so dear a price.

At length I determined to have them taught in my own house, that they might have an opportunity of learning to read, write, and cast accounts (if no more), without being under almost a necessity of learning Heathenism at the same time; and after several unsuccessful trials, I found two such schoolmasters I wanted; men of honesty and of sufficient knowledge, who had talents for, and their hearts in, the work.

They have now under their care near sixty children; the

parents of some pay for their schooling; but the greater part, being very poor, do not; so that the expense is chiefly defrayed by voluntary contributions. We have of late clothed them, too, as many as wanted. The rules of the school are these that follow: (This also has been dropped for some time, 1772):

First. No child is admitted under six years of age. Secondly. All the children are to be present at the morning sermon. Thirdly. They are at school from six to twelve, and from one to five. Fourthly. They have no play-days. Fifthly. No child is to speak in school, but to the masters. Sixthly. The child who misses two days in one week, without leave, is excluded the school.

We appointed two stewards for the school also. The business of these is to receive the school subscriptions, and expend what is needful; to talk with each of the masters weekly; to pray with and exhort the children twice a week; to inquire diligently whether they grow in grace and in learning, and whether the rules are punctually observed; every Tuesday morning, in conjunction with the masters, to exclude those children that do not observe the rules; every Wednesday morning to meet with and exhort their parents to train them up at home in the ways of God.

A happy change was soon observed in the children, both with regard to their tempers and behaviour. They learned reading, writing, and arithmetic swiftly; and at the same time they were diligently instructed in the sound principles of religion, and earnestly exhorted to fear God, and work out their own salvation.

—*A Plain Account of the People called Methodists,* 1749. *Works,* V, 188-189.

APPENDIX XVIII

The Legal Status of Whitefield's Orphan House according to Governor Oglethorpe

I have inspected the grant relating to the Orphan House. Mr. Seward said that the trustees had granted the orphans to Mr. Whitefield; but I showed him that it could not be in the sense he at first seemed to understand it. The trustees have granted the *care* of the *helpless* orphans to Mr. Whitefield, and have given him five hundred acres of land, and a power of collecting charities, as a consideration for maintaining all the orphans who are in necessity in this

province; and thereby the trustees think themselves discharged from the maintaining of any. But, at the same time, the trustees have not given, as I see, any power to Mr. Whitefield to receive the effects of the orphans, much less to take by force any orphans who can maintain themselves, or whom any other substantial person will maintain. The trustees, in this, act according to the law of England:—In case orphans are left destitute, they become the charge of the parish, and the parish may put them out to be taken care of; but if any person will maintain them, so that they are not chargeable to the parish, then the parish doth not meddle with them.

—*Memoirs of General Oglethorpe, 272,* quoted in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 365.

APPENDIX XIX

Whitefield's Account of the Affairs of the Orphan House in Georgia

When I left England I proposed to take in only twenty children; but, when I arrived in Georgia, I found, besides the orphans, so many objects of charity among the poor people's children that I resolved in this, as well as in all other respects, to imitate Professor Francke, and make a provision for *their* maintenance also.

Two of the boys were put out apprentices just before I left Savannah, one to a bricklayer, another to a carpenter; a third is to be bound to the surgeon belonging to the Orphan House; one weaves in a loom at home; two I put to a tailor, whom I brought over; and the rest are now fitting themselves to be useful to the commonwealth. Whoever among them appear to be sanctified and have a good natural capacity, I intend, under God, for the ministry.

None of the girls are put out as yet, but are taught such things as may make them serviceable whenever they go abroad. Two or three of them spin very well. Some of them knit, wash, and clean house, and get up the linen, and are taught housewifery. All capable are taught to sew; and the little girls, as well as the boys, are employed in picking cotton. I think I have no less than three hundred and eighty-two yards of cloth already in the house, and as much yarn spun as will make the same quantity.

I have now forty-nine children under my care; twenty-three English, ten Scots, four Dutch, five French, and seven Americans.

Twenty-two of these are fatherless and motherless, sixteen boys and six girls. Of the others, some are fatherless, and some without mothers; all objects of charity, except three, whose friends recompense the Orphan House for their maintenance. One of the orphans is an infant. I pay four shillings a week for nursing it. Since December last, we have had eighteen more children who have been maintained occasionally, to assist their parents, and been dismissed when they were wanted at home.

Though the children are taught to labour for the meat that perisheth, yet they are continually reminded to seek *first* the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and then to depend upon God's blessing on their honest endeavours for having food and raiment added unto them. I intend, when the house is finished, to have this precept of our Lord written over the entrance at the great door.

As my design in founding the Orphan House was to build up souls for God, I endeavour to preach most of all to the children's hearts. But that they may be able to give a reason of the hope that is in them, I constantly instruct them out of the Church of England's Articles, which I turn into catechetical questions. I am often pleased to hear how judiciously some will answer the questions put to them. The power of God has been frequently visible among them. Many of the girls seem to be tender-hearted. Several of the boys have been under strong convictions.

We are now all removed to Bethesda. We live in the outhouses at present; but in less than two months the great house will be finished so as to receive the whole family. It is now weatherboarded and shingled; and a piazza of ten feet wide is built all around it, which will be wonderfully convenient in the heat of summer. One part of the house would have been entirely finished had not the Spaniards lately taken from us a schooner laden with ten thousand bricks, and a great deal of provision, with one of our family. But, notwithstanding this and many other hindrances, the work has been carried on with great success and speed. There are no less than four framed houses, and a large stable and cart-house, besides the great house. In that, there will be sixteen commodious rooms, besides a large cellar of sixty feet long and forty wide. Near twenty acres of land are cleared round about it, and a large road made from Savannah to the Orphan House, twelve miles in length—a thing not before done since the province has been settled.

None but those on the spot can tell the expense, as well as inconveniency, that attends building in Georgia. Most of our bricks cost forty shillings sterling per thousand, when landed at the plantation. Common labourers, besides their provisions, have twenty-five shillings sterling a month. We have often been in difficulties; but the Lord has relieved us out of them. When the schooner was lost, a person, lately converted, sent us eleven barrels of rice, and five barrels of beef. And, in my absence, when my family had little or no provisions, the Indians brought in plenty of deer, till they were supplied with food some other way. The contributions in Charleston, New England, New York, and Pennsylvania have been extraordinary.

The Infirmary, which has likewise been supported by this institution, has been of great service. The surgeon informs me that, if everyone had been obliged to pay for their nursing and medicine, it would have cost them £200 sterling. I have now three or four sick. I keep a woman to attend them constantly.

God has blessed our family with health. Only two have died since my arrival; and those were two who came with me from England,—the tailor, and one of the women.

I have left behind me, as my assistants (who have no other gratuity than food and raiment), two schoolmasters, and their wives, who are schoolmistresses; one young man, as superintendent and chief manager of the outward things; the surgeon, and his wife; a shoemaker, and a spinster; besides labourers and monthly-hired servants; I think, in all, I have upwards of eighty. The Lord, I am persuaded, is able and willing to provide for them.

I think we have near two hundred hogs, and a hundred head of cattle. I give a man £40 sterling per annum to take care of them. As yet we have had no advantage from our stock, it being a very dry season last summer; so that our cattle of all kinds have scarce food to eat. But, in a year or two, we hope to have a considerable quantity of fresh provisions for our family.

As for manuring more lands than the hired servants and great boys can manage, I think it is impracticable without a few negroes. It will in no wise answer the expense.

I am now several hundreds of pounds in debt on the Orphan House account. Some particular friends have been pleased to assist me; and I doubt not but our Lord will enable me to pay them, and

also will raise up fresh subscriptions for the maintenance of my large family.

Great calumnies have been spread abroad concerning our management of the children. People shoot out their bitter arrows in America as well as in England. One poor man was filled with such resentment at the reports he had heard of our cruelty to the children that he came one day, out of South Carolina, to take away two of his boys, which, out of compassion, I had taken into the Orphan House; but when he came and saw the manner in which they were educated, he was so far from taking his children away that he desired to come and live at the Orphan House himself. I speak not this by way of boasting, or to wipe off reproach; for I know, let me do what I will, I shall never please natural men.

God only knows the concern that lies upon me on account of this family, not only in respect to their bodily, but their spiritual provision. I hope all who wish well to Zion will help me with their prayers, as well as with their alms, that the establishment may be rightly styled "Pietas Georgiensis," and that, like the "Pietas Hallensis," it may become the joy of the whole earth. Even so, Lord Jesus, Amen, and Amen.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Bethesda, December 23, 1740.

—Whitefield, *An Account of the Money Received and Disbursed for the Orphan House in Georgia,* London, 1741. Quoted in Tyerman, *Whitefield,* I, 441-443. This was published again with revisions in 1742 and 1743. See Whitefield, *Works,* III, 431 ff.

APPENDIX XX

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNT OF GEORGE WHITEFIELD

In 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitude of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them by assuring them they were

naturally *half beasts* and *half devils*. It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon received to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall; and the work was carried with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia; the design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way thro' the colonies, to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labour, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

I did not disapprove of the design, but as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia, and brought

the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper-money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all! At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and applied to a neighbour who stood near to him to lend him some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately [made] to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to me to be out of thy right senses."

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his Sermons and Journals, etc.), never had the least suspicion of his integrity but am to this day decidedly of the opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly honest man; and methinks my testimony in his favour ought to have the more weight as we had no religious connexion. He used, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death.

. . . .

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield was in London, when he consulted me about his Orphan House concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

—*The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin,* edited by John Bigelow, New York, 1909, pp. 220-224.

APPENDIX XXI

Whitefield's Appeal to the Trustees of Georgia in Behalf of the Orphan House

To the Honourable Trustees of Georgia.

Gloucester, Dec. 6, 1748.

Honoured Gentlemen,

Not want of respect, but a suspicion that my letters would not be acceptable, has been the occasion of my not writing to you these four years last past. I am sensible that in some of my former letters, through hurry of business, want of more experience, and in all probability too great an opinion of my own sufficiency, I expressed myself in too strong, and sometimes unbecoming terms. For this I desire to be humbled before God and man, knowing that, Peter-like, by a misguided zeal, I have cut off as it were those ears which otherwise might have been open to what I had to offer. However, I can assure you, honoured gentlemen, to the best of my knowledge, I have acted a disinterested part, and notwithstanding my manifold mistakes and imprudence I have simply aimed at God's glory and the good of mankind. This principle drew me first to Georgia; this, and this alone, induced me to begin and carry on the scheme of the Orphan-house; and this, honoured gentlemen, excites me to trouble you with the present lines. I need not inform you, honoured gentlemen, how the colony of Georgia has been declining for these many years last past, and at what great disadvantages I have maintained a large family in that wilderness, through the providence of a good and gracious God. Upwards of five thousand pounds have been expended in that undertaking, and yet very little proficiency made in the cultivation of my tract of land, and that entirely owing to the necessity I lay under of making use of white hands. Had a negroe been allowed, I should now have had a sufficiency to support a great many orphans, without expending above half the sum which hath been laid out. An unwillingness to let so good a design drop, and having a rational conviction that it must necessarily, if some other method was not fixed upon to prevent it. These two considerations, honoured gentlemen, prevailed on me about two years ago through the bounty of my good friends, to purchase a plantation in South Carolina, where negroes are allowed. Blessed be God, this plantation hath succeeded; and

though at present I have only eight working hands, yet in all probability there will be more raised in one year, and with a quarter the expence, than has been produced at Bethesda for several years last past. This confirms me in the opinion I have entertained for a long time, that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed. But notwithstanding my private judgment, I am determined that not one of mine shall ever be allowed to work at the Orphan-house, till I can do it in a legal manner, and by the approbation of the honourable trustees. My chief end in writing this is to inform you, honourable gentlemen, of the matter of fact, and to let you know that I am as willing as ever to do all I can for Georgia and the Orphan-house, if either a limited use of negroes is approved of, or some more indented servants sent over. If not, I cannot promise to keep any large family, or cultivate the plantation in any considerable manner. My strength must necessarily be taken to the other side. I would also further recommend it to your consideration, honourable gentlemen, whether or not as the Orphan-house was and is intended for a charitable purpose, it ought not to be exempted from all quit-rents and public taxes, as I believe is customary universally for such institutions to be? And as most of the land on which the Orphan-house is built is good for little, I would humbly enquire, whether I may not have a grant for five hundred more acres that are not taken up, somewhere near the Orphan-house? My intention is, if you, honourable gentlemen, are pleased to put the colony upon another footing (I mean in respect to the permission of a limited use of negroes), to make the Orphan-house not only a receptacle for fatherless children, but also a place of literature and academical studies. Such a place is much wanted in the southern parts of America; and if conducted in a proper manner, must necessarily be of great service to any colony. I can easily procure proper persons to embark in such a cause, and I do not know but several families would go over, supposing I could give them a probable prospect of a support upon their honest industry. I could say more, but I fear I have been already too prolix. I humbly recommend what has been urged to your consideration, and beg leave to subscribe myself, honourable gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

—Whitefield, *Works*, II, 208-209.

APPENDIX XXII

Whitefield's Plan for a College at Bethesda and Its Failure

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The Memorial of George Whitefield, Clerk.

Sheweth,

That about twenty-six years ago, your memorialist, assisted by the voluntary contributions of charitable and well-disposed persons, at a very great expence, and under many disadvantages, did erect a very commodious house, with necessary outbuildings, suitable for the reception of orphans and other poor and deserted children; and that with the repair of the buildings, purchase of negroes, and supporting a large orphan family for many years, he hath expended upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling, as appears by the accounts, which from time to time have been audited by the magistrates of Savannah, and which are humbly presented with this memorial.

That your memorialist, since the commencement of this institution, hath had the satisfaction of finding that by the money expended thereon, not only many poor families were assisted and thereby kept from leaving the colony in its infant state; but also that a considerable number of poor, helpless children have been trained up, who have been, and are now useful settlers in this and the other neighbouring provinces; that in order to render the institution aforesaid more extensively useful, your memorialist, as he perceived the colony gradually rising, hath for some years past designed, within himself, to improve the original plan, by making further provision for the education of persons of superior rank, who thereby may be qualified to serve their king, their country, and their God, either in church or state.

That in his late visit to Georgia, he did with inexpressible pleasure see the province in a very flourishing state; but with concern perceived that several gentlemen had been obliged to send their sons to the northern provinces, who would much rather have had them educated nearer home; and thereby prevent their affections being alienated from their native country, and also considerable sums of money from being carried out of Georgia into other provinces.

Your memorialist begs leave further to observe that there is

no seminary for academical studies as yet founded southward of Virginia; and consequently if a college could be established (especially as the addition of the two Floridas renders Georgia more centrical for the southern district) it would not only be highly serviceable to the rising generation of the colony of Georgia, but would probably occasion many youths to be sent from the neighbouring southern provinces for education. The many advantages accruing to Georgia thereby must necessarily be very considerable.

That in consideration of the foregoing premises, your memorialist, in December, 1764, presented a memorial to his Excellency the Governor, and the honourable the council of the province of Georgia, praying that two thousand acres of land might be granted in trust towards carrying on the desirable end of founding a College; which motion was not only immediately complied with, but the general assembly being then sitting, an address, a copy of which is herewith also sent, was presented from them to his Excellency, expressing their unanimous and highest approbation, with a desire that his Excellency would use his endeavors to have this affair forwarded at home with all possible expedition. That upon the arrival of your Memorialist he was informed that this address was remitted to, and laid before the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations; and having received repeated advices, that numbers both in Georgia and South Carolina are waiting with impatience to have their sons initiated in academical exercises; your Memorialist therefore prays that a charter upon the plan of New Jersey College may be granted; upon which your Memorialist is ready to give up his present trust, and make a free gift of all the lands, negroes, goods, and chattels which he now stands possessed of in the province of Georgia, for the present founding, and towards the future support of a College, to be called by the name of Bethesda College in the province of Georgia.

—Whitefield, *Works*, III, 473-475.

Mr. Whitefield to the Archbishop.

Tottenham-Court, Oct. 16, 1767.

May it please your Grace,

After earnest application to the Father of mercies for direction, I have endeavoured as in his presence, duly to consider and weigh the contents of the L[ord] P[residen]t's letter, which your Grace

was so condescending as to transmit for my perusal. His L[ordshi]p therein is pleased to inform your Grace, "That he observes that the second draught of Mr. Whitefield's charter differs from that of New-York; in not requiring the head of the College to be a member of the church of England, which his Lordship thinks so material a qualification, that for one, he should not be for dispensing with it. And his L——p is also of opinion that the public prayers should not be extempore ones, but the liturgy of the church, or some part thereof, or some other settled and established form." Thus far his L——p. And, as I profess myself to be a presbyter of the same communion with his L——p, I cannot but applaud his L——p's zeal for, and watchfulness over, the honour of the established church. But if his L——p would be so good as to take a particular view of the point of light in which I stand, I cannot help flattering myself but that his L——p will be so far from thinking that being a member of the church of England is a qualification not to be dispensed with in the head of the intended College; that on the contrary, it ought not so much as to be mentioned, or insisted upon in the charter at all. For not to trouble your Grace with a repetition of the reasons urged against such a restraining clause, in my letter of June 17, I would beg leave further to observe to your Grace, that by far the greatest part of the Orphan-house collections and contributions came from Dissenters, not only in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Scotland, but in all probability here in England also. Most of these places I have visited since the several audits of the Orphan-house accompts, and acquainted with the design of turning it into a College; and likewise the address of the Council and Assembly of the province of Georgia, with his Excellency Governor Wright's answer, highly approving and recommending the design, have been published. Being frequently asked, "Upon what bottom the intended College was to be founded"; I not only most readily and repeatedly answered, "Undoubtedly upon a *broad bottom,*" but likewise, in most of the above-mentioned places, have solemnly declared from the pulpit that it should be upon a *broad bottom and no other.* This, I judged, I was sufficiently warranted to do, from the known, long-established, mild, and uncoercive genius of the English government; also from your Grace's moderation towards protestant Dissenters; from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans

to toleration principles, as well as from the avowed habitual feelings and sentiments of my own heart. This being the case, may it please your Grace, I would humbly appeal to his L——p, whether I can answer it to my God, my conscience, my king, my country, my constituents, and Orphan-house benefactors and contributors, both at home and abroad, to betray my trust, forfeit my word, act contrary to my own convictions, and greatly retard and prejudice the growth and progress of the intended institution, by narrowing its foundation, and thereby letting it fall upon such a bottom, as I am persuaded will give a general disgust, and most justly open the mouths of persons of all denominations against me. This, as I acquainted your Grace, in the same letter referred to above, is what I dare not do. And therefore, as your Grace by your silence seems to be like-minded with the L——d P——t; and as your Grace's and his L——p's influence will undoubtedly extend itself to others of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, I would beg leave, after returning all due acknowledgments, to inform your Grace that I intend troubling your Grace and his Lordship no more about this so long depending concern. As it hath pleased the great Head of the church in some degree to renew my bodily strength, I purpose now to renew my feeble efforts, and turn the charity into a more generous, and consequently into a more extensively useful channel. If I know anything of my own heart, I have no ambition to be looked upon at present, or remembered for the future, as a founder of a college; but I would fain, may it please your Grace, act the part of an honest man, a disinterested minister of Jesus Christ, and a truly catholic, moderate presbyter of the church of England. In this way, and in this only, can I hope for a continued heart-felt enjoyment of that peace of God which passeth all understanding, whilst here on earth, and be thereby prepared to stand with humble boldness before the awful, impartial tribunal of the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls at the great day. That your Grace may shine as a star of the first magnitude in that day is the sincere prayer of, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful obliged son and servant,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

—Whitefield, *Works,* III, 480-482.

APPENDIX XXIII

Mr. Wesley's Opinion of Whitefield's Plan for a College

Lewisham, February 21, 1770.

My dear Brother,—

. . . .

Some time ago, since you went hence, I heard a circumstance which gave me a good deal of concern; namely, that the college or academy in Georgia had swallowed up the Orphan house. Shall I give my judgment without being asked? Methinks, friendship requires I should. Are there not then two points which come in view? a point of mercy, and a point of justice? With regard to the former, may it not be inquired, Can anything on earth be a greater charity than to bring up orphans? What is a college or an academy compared to this unless you could have such a college as perhaps is not upon earth. I know the value of learning and am more in danger of prizing it too much than too little. But still, I cannot place the giving it to five hundred students, on a level with saving the bodies, if not the souls too, of five hundred orphans. But let us pass on from the point of mercy to that of justice: you had land given, and collected money, for an Orphan house; are you at liberty to apply this to any other purpose? at least, while there are any orphans in Georgia left? I just touch upon this, though it is an important point, and leave it to your own consideration, whether part of it, at least, might not properly be applied to carry on the original design? In speaking thus freely, on so tender a subject, I have given you a fresh proof of the sincerity with which I am

Your ever affectionate friend and brother,

John Wesley.

—*Works*, VI, 684.

APPENDIX XXIV

Methodist Charity Sermons

The charity sermon was a well known feature of English philanthropy long before the Revival. Although the Methodists made no particular change in its form or use, the results they secured gave them the reputation of being "very successful pleaders for public

charities."[1] Indeed, the managers of public charities made such frequent use of them that protests arose. The Rev. Mr. John Downes expressed himself in a very outspoken manner:

"The Cause I mean is *Charity,* and that of a most excellent Kind, the Support of Schools instituted for the education of poor Children: than which a better Institution can scarcely be conceived nor any Place found where it is more remarkably encouraged, than in this opulent and charitable City. But the Misfortune is, that the Zeal of the Governors or Managers of those pious Foundations is too apt sometimes to hurry them into improper Measures for promoting their interest, particularly in the Case of their Charity Sermons. From which, in order to raise the largest Contributions, they are very subject to appoint a *Methodistical* Orator. Whence it is that our Pulpits of late Years have been so infested with those popular Declaimers. Tho' I hope this Disease is at present not so prominent as it hath been . . . . . It must also be confessed that a Methodist-Preacher generally produces them the most copious Collections. But why? Because he is sure to draw a numerous Crowd of enthusiastical Followers after him, who are willing to give liberally, (and many of them doubtless beyond their Abilities) for *his* Credit, and for the good of the Faction; that it may appear to the Ignorant or Superstitious, as if the rich Harvest produced was solely oweing to the Efficacy of his Preaching, or to the Power of the Holy Ghost accompanying it, and in an extraordinary Manner opening the Hearts of his Hearers; and that thence his Fame may be trumpeted thro' every *Parish,* and pave the way for him into every *Pulpit.*"[2]

Some instances of Mr. Wesley's preaching in behalf of the poor and of the prisoners have already been noted. The Journal and the fragmentary evidence of the Diary show nearly thirty such sermons by Mr. Wesley and many more must have gone unrecorded. The cause to be benefited by the collection is in nearly half of the cases unknown and in nearly all the amount of the collection is not given. Where the objects are known, they are of different kinds, sometimes for the Methodist poor, or the loan fund, or for "our poor children." On other occasions the objects are outside of the Methodist circle, such as the Finsbury Dispensary in London, the Humane Society at Lewisham,[3] or the Sunday School at Monkwearmouth. One of the most notable sermons is that "On National Sins and

[1] *European Magazine,* 1782, 95.

[2] Downes, Rev. Mr., *Methodism Examined and Exposed,* 106 pp. London, 1759. Pp. 88-89.

[3] Sermon CIV, *Works,* II, 336 ff.

Miseries," which was preached at St. Matthew's, Bethnal-Green, November 12, 1775, "for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the soldiers who lately fell, near Boston in New-England."[1] For one of the public charities, the Nottingham General Hospital, he preached several times in his later years. The collections as recorded in the accounts of the Hospital were £7 9s. 1¼d., £14 6s. 10¾d., and £5.[2] A list of Mr. Wesley's charity sermons is given below.

George Whitefield, however, was the Methodist preacher of charity sermons *par excellence*. To an exceedingly persuasive oratorical style and an enthusiasm that greatly strengthened the force of his appeals, he added a shrewd knowledge of human nature and a mastery of the tricks of his trade. It is related that after he had finished a sermon in behalf of a German village which had been burnt up, he said, "We shall sing a hymn, during which those who do not choose to give their mite on this awful occasion may sneak off." Not a person moved; he then ordered all the doors to be shut but one. Through this the congregation passed out, placing their contributions in the plate, which Whitefield himself held. Six hundred pounds was realized.[3] This amount was exceptional, although sums of £200 or £300 were not infrequent.

The occasions upon which Whitefield preached charity sermons and the causes for which the collections were designed are far too numerous to be recounted here. When he sailed for Georgia for the first time he took with him a cargo worth over £300 for the poor in that colony. He left behind him £1,000 which he had raised for charity schools in London.[4] Not a little of this was secured among the Religious Societies, whose benevolence Whitefield greatly stimulated.[5] The collections for the Kingswood School and for the Orphan House in Georgia have already been noticed. A similar service he rendered to the charities of Edinburgh, preaching there in behalf of the Royal Infirmary, the Orphan Hospital and for the relief of the poor.[6] The persecutions of the Protestants aroused his

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[1] Sermon LVIII, *Works*, I, 515 ff. *Journal*, Nov. 12, 1775.

[2] Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, V, 163; Harwood, *History of Wesleyan Methodism in Nottingham*, pp. 59 ff.

[3] *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, I, 92 note.

[4] Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, 106.

[5] Portus, *Caritas Anglicana*, 200.

[6] Tyerman, *op. cit.*, I, 518, II, 197, 277, 352-353, 393, 411, 439.

interest and on various occasions he secured more than £1,500 for the Salzburghers and the French and German Protestants. For this he received the thanks of Frederick the Great.[1] In addition to collections for the relief of those made homeless by the Boston fire and for other emergencies,[2] Whitefield aided the cause of education in America by his charity sermons and by his letters to his rich friends in England. He sent out an appeal for books for Harvard College to replace those destroyed by the burning of the library.[3] For Eleazar Wheelock's Indian School, which later became Dartmouth College, Whitefield enlisted the support of the Marquis of Lothian and aided the establishment of other Indian schools and missions.[4] Similar encouragement he gave to the founders of "the college in New Jersey," which became Princeton University, and which conferred on Whitefield the M. A. degree.[5] He was also much interested in "the college at Philadelphia," now the University of Pennsylvania.[6] Countless other enterprises he assisted in the many ways possible to one who made it his "constant practice" to improve his "acquaintance with the rich for the benefit of the poor."[7]

CHARITY SERMONS BY JOHN WESLEY

(Unless otherwise indicated the references are to the Journal.)

March 31, 1747. St. Bartholomew's the Great, London.[8]

Jan. 27, 1751. Spitalfields, London. "For the use of our poor children."

Nov. 25, 1753. West Street Chapel, London. (Twice.)

Oct. 16, 1760. Bristol, for the prisoners in Newgate.

Dec. 21, 1760. West Street Chapel. (Twice.)

Aug. 8, 1767. Newcastle. For Indian schools in America.

Nov. 12, 1775. St. Matthews, Bethnal Green, London. For

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[1]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, I, 157, II, 372, 424, 441 note.

[2]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 472.

[3]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 474.

[4]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 473, 494-495. Imagine the astonishment of the present writer upon picking up the copy of Whitefield's *Works* on his desk to find in it the autograph—"Eleazar Wheelock's."

[5]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 255, 322-324, 342.

[6]Tyerman, *op. cit.*, 251.

[7]Whitefield, *Further Account*, 78.

[8]*Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1847, 1186.

orphans and widows of soldiers "who lately fell near Boston in New England."

Jan. 28, 1776. All-hallows, Rood Lane, London.

Nov. 23, 1777. Lewisham, for the Humane Society.[1]

Nov. 29, 1778. St. Luke's, Old Street, London.

Oct. 24, 1779. Shadwell, London.

Nov. 28, 1779. St. Peter's, Cornhill.

Feb. 4, 1784. Nottingham, for the General Hospital, £7 9s. 1¼d.[2]

Feb. 29, 1784. West Street Chapel, "for the poor," £12 11s. 8d.[3]

Nov. 28, 1784. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London.

Nov. 12, 1786. City Road Chapel. "For our little Charity School."

Nov. 9, 10, 11, 1787. Nottingham. "For the Infirmary." £14 6s. 10¾d.[2]

Nov. 25, 1787. West Street Chapel. "For our poor children." (Twice.)

Dec. 16, 1787. St. John's, Clerkenwell, London. For the Finsbury Dispensary.

April 18, 1788. Wigan, for the Sunday Schools.

July 11, 1788. Derby. For the Nottingham General Hospital, £5.[2]

Nov. 15, 1789. Shoreditch Church, London.

Feb. 19, 1790. West Street Chapel, "for the school," £15 8s. 9d.[3]

June 13, 1790. Monkwearmouth, for the Sunday School.

Oct. 19, 1790. Lynn, for the Sunday Schools.

Jan. 23, 1791. West Street Chapel. £9 7s.[3]

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[1] "Instituted for the sake of those who seem to be drowned, strangled, or killed by any sudden stroke. It is a glorious design."

[2] Wes. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, V, 164.

[3] Telford, *Two West-End Chapels*, 23-25.

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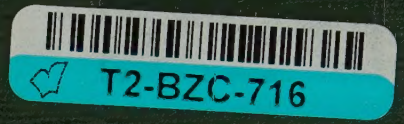
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